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NAVAL HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

INCLUDING THE

HISTORY AND LIVES

OF

THE BRITISH ADMIRALS.

BY DR. JOHN CAMPBELL.

WITH

A CONTINUATION TO THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1812;

COMPRISING

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE ADMIRALS OMITTED BY DR. CAMPBELL: LIKEWISE OF NAVAL CAPTAINS AND OTHER OFFICERS WHO HAVE DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN THEIR COUNTRY'S CAUSE.

DEDICATED, BY PERMISSION, TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

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NAVAL HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN,

INCLUDING

LIVES OF THE ADMIRALS, CAPTAINS, &c.

CHAP. XXIV.

Naval History of Great Britain from the Accession of his Majesty George III. to the Peace in 1763.

THE prosperity which had thrown such lustre over the latter years of George II. was transmitted to his successor. The first speech of the new king was received, not only by the parliament, but by the nation at large with the most rapturous applause. This prince, the first of the Brunswick family who had been born in England, adverted with peculiar felicity to the circumstance, as one which strengthened the relation between him and his subjects: "Born and educated," says he, "in this country, I glory in the name of Briton, and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the happiness of a people, whose loyalty and warm affection to me I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my throne." Referring to the existing state of things in the country, he adds "happier still should I have been, had I found my kingdoms, whose true interest I have entirely at heart, in full peace, but since the ambition, injurious encroachments and dan-

gerous designs of my enemies rendered the war both just and necessary, and the general overture made last winter towards a congress for pacification, has not yet produced any suitable return, I am determined, with your cheerful and powerful assistance, to prosecute this war with vigour, in order to that desirable object a safe and honourable peace. The eyes of all Europe are upon you; from you the protestant interest hopes for protection, as well as all our friends, for the preservation of their independency, and our enemies for the final disappointment of their ambitious and destructive views."

Mr. Pitt still continued to direct all public business, and our warlike preparations suffered no abatement from the transfer of the crown to the youthful monarch. The troops were all on board for a secret expedition, and moved from Spithead to St. Helen's, to be more ready to embrace the first breeze of fair wind that should offer, and to proceed in their destination. But having long waited for this, administration thought the season too far advanced for military and naval operations, therefore, in the beginning of December, orders were given for the fleet to return to Spithead, and for the troops to disembark, and go into winter quarters.

We have not, in the last chapter, interrupted the history of the British squadrons by relating the exploits of particular cruisers, several of which conferred the highest honour on the English navy. On the 2d of April Captain Skinner of the Biddeford, and Captain Kennedy of the Flamborough, both frigates, having sailed from Lisbon, fell in with two large French frigates, convoy to a fleet of merchant ships, which the English captains immediately determined to engage, notwithstanding the great inferiority of their strength. The enemy did not decline the battle, which began about half an hour after six in the evening, and raged with great fury till eleven. By this time the Flamborough had lost sight of the Bid-

deford, and the frigate with which the former was engaged bore away with all the sail she could carry. Captain Kennedy pursued her till noon the next day, when he entirely lost sight of her; by which means she got into Lisbon with the loss of several men besides the lieutenant of marines, and considerably damaged in her hull and rigging. In three days he was joined by the Biddeford, who, after a most severe conflict, had compelled her antagonist to fly, and had chaced her till she was out of sight. Soon after the action began, Captain Skinner, while standing upon the arm-chest to inspect the several posts, and to animate his men by his example, was unfortunately killed. He was an officer equally brave and bountiful, and as much beloved for his gentleness and humanity as respected for his skill and courage by those who served under him. The command devolved upon the honourable Lieutenant Knollis, who maintained the battle with great spirit, even after he was wounded; and a second shot through his body deprived him of life. Notwithstanding these disasters, the crew of the Biddeford, though deprived of their officers, their main top-mast shot away, the ship disabled in her rigging, and the enemy's fire which continued exceedingly hot, discovered no signs of fear or of disinclination to the service. The master of the ship now assumed the command, and every man aboard acted as if on his personal bravery alone the fortune of the engagement had depended. While the master kept the quarter-deck, and took care of the posts there, the purser was stationed on the main-deck, and kept up a brisk and well-directed fire. Numbers of the wounded men returned with chearfulness to their posts, after the surgeon had dressed their wounds. Their cool determined valour prevailed over a ship double their own in strength. The enemy's fire began to slacken, one gun becoming silent after another, till at length the enemy did not discharge four guns

in a quarter of an hour. It was believed they were going to strike; but it proved, that they were preparing for flight; for a little after, about ten at night, the engagement having lasted three hours, they bore away with all the sail they could crowd. The Biddeford took the opportunity to pour a broadside into her enemy, and a volley of small arms nearly at the same instant. But, when she attempted to chace, the sailors found they had no command of their ship, the rigging being cut to pieces, and the masts and yards shattered and disabled.

The spirit of enterprise, a consciousness of their own superiority, and a contempt of the French, seem to have been communicated to the meanest seaman of Great Britain at this happy period. As an example of this kind, the bravery of five Irishmen and a boy, belonging to the crew of a ship from Waterford, has been much celebrated. The ship, in her return from Bilboa, being taken by a French privateer off Ushant, the captors removed all the hands but these five men and a boy, who were left to assist nine Frenchmen in navigating the vessel. These daring Hibernians immediately formed a plan of insurrection, which they executed with success. Four of the French mariners being below deck, three aloft among the rigging, one at the helm, and another walking the deck, Brian, who headed the enterprise, tripped up the heels of the French steersman, seized his pistol, and discharged it at him who walked the deck; but, missing the mark, he knocked him down with the butt-end of the piece. At the same time hallooing to his confederates below, they assailed the enemy with their broad swords, and, soon compelling them to submit, came upon deck, and shut the hatches. The Irish being now in possession of the quarter-deck, the French who were aloft called for quarter, and surrendered without opposition. As neither Brian nor any of his associates could read or write, or knew the least prin-

ciple of navigation, they steered the ship northward at a venture, and the first land they made was the neighbourhood of Youghall in the county of Cork.

The captures from the French, within the course of this year, consisted of royal ships of war, privateers, and armed merchantmen. The royal ships were six, mounting in all one hundred and seventy six guns. The privateers and armed merchantmen amounted to one hundred and ten, which carried eight hundred and forty-eight carriage guns, two hundred and forty swivels, and six thousand three hundred and eighty-nine men. The English navy suffered little from the French during this period, but sustained great damage from the weather. The Conqueror, a new ship of the line, was lost in the channel off the island of St. Nicholas; the crew and guns were saved. The Lyme of twenty guns foundered in the Cattegate in Norway, and fifty of the men perished. In the West Indies a tender belonging to the Dublin commanded by Commodore Sir James Douglas, was lost in a gale of wind, with one hundred chosen mariners. But these losses, great as they were, seemed inconsiderable, compared to that of the Ramillies, a magnificent ship of the second rate, belonging to the squadron which Admiral Boscawen commanded on the coast of France. In the beginning of February a series of stormy weather obliged the admiral to return from the Bay of Quiberon to Plymouth, where he arrived with much difficulty. The Ramillies, having overshot the entrance to the Sound, and being embayed near a point called the Bolt-head, about four leagues higher up the channel, was dashed in pieces among the rocks, after her anchors and cables had given way. All her officers and men, one midshipman and twenty-five of the seamen excepted, amounting to seven hundred, perished.

The number of merchant vessels taken by the French amounted to above three hundred, chiefly, however, coasters and colliers of very inconsiderable

value. Nor would it have been at all surprising if the French had taken not only more numerous but more valuable prizes. While their own commerce was in a great measure destroyed, and they had no merchant ships at sea but some coasters, and a few vessels, under convoy from the West Indies, the trading fleets of England covered the ocean. Every year her commerce was augmenting; the money which the war carried out was returned by the produce of her industry; the sinking fund amounted annually to above three millions, and, in the year 1760, eight thousand vessels were employed by the traders of Great Britain.

But, notwithstanding this happy flow of prosperity, if we compare the naval and military transactions of the present year with those of the preceding, they will appear extremely inconsiderable. Excepting the reduction of Montreal, which was a natural consequence of our prior conquests in Canada, no additional acquisitions of great consequence had been made by the British arms. The English strength and wealth were employed in the war of Germany; but our operations, undertaken upon national principles, and tending to the interest of Great Britain, began gradually to languish. It was hoped, therefore, that after a general war of five years, carried on upon a larger scale, and attended with greater expence, and more surprising revolutions of fortune, than any war of equal duration that had ever taken place among the nations of Europe, it was now full time to give tranquillity to the four quarters of the globe, all of which had been shaken by our commotions. The posture of affairs was now much altered from what had taken place during the first periods of hostility. The ambition of France, which had inflamed the fuel of dissension, had been crowned with success in the beginning of the war. Admiral Byng behaved disgracefully in the Mediterranean, Minorca was taken, and the battle of Hastembeck seemed to decide

the fate of the electorate of Hanover. The duke of Cumberland was shut up at Closterseven, and the Canadians obtained considerable advantages over the English in North America. But now all was changed. The French had not reaped the fruits which they expected from their success in Germany, and had been obliged to abandon some part of their conquests; their interest was totally ruined in North America; in the East Indies, where they had formerly so many flourishing settlements, they were confined to one town; and the principal source of their wealth was cut off by the loss of Guadaloupe, Goree, and Senegal, and the destruction of their commerce and shipping. The misfortunes which France had already experienced in carrying on a naval war against Great Britain, induced her, as early as the year 1758, to signify her pacific intentions to the English ministry, who declined listening at that time to any proposals of negociation. In the following year the court of London was not so decisively bent on continuing the war; but it was not till 1761 that they began to think seriously of laying down their victorious arms. Had France been equally sincere in the wishes for accommodation which she publicly professed, matters might then have been amicably adjusted. But she had by this time discovered an after game, which remained for her to play, notwithstanding all her bad fortune. She had alarmed the pride and jealousy of the court of Spain, whose rich and extensive American possessions seemed now to lie at the mercy of the English colonies, and whose honour was deeply wounded in the disgrace inflicted on the first prince of the house of Bourbon. If the whole strength of the Spanish monarchy, augmented by continual accessions during a long peace, could be drawn into the vortex of hostility, France expected to be able still to retrieve her affairs. While she publicly declared for peace, her secret hopes were all centered in war; she treated of friendship with a spirit of enmity; and

the false principles upon which she negociated being discovered by the penetration of the British ministry, these allowed not the prospect of a treaty to amuse them into a neglect of the naval and military operations which had been previously concerted.

The parliament which assembled the 18th of November, 1760, had voted seventy thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year, including eighteen thousand three hundred and fifty-five marines, and a sum not exceeding four pounds monthly *per* man for their maintenance, the whole amounting to 3,640,000*l*. No material alteration was made in the disposition of the several squadrons which constituted the navy of Great Britain. That in the Bay of Quiberon was commanded by Sir Edward Hawke and Sir Charles Hardy. Admiral Saunders was stationed in the Mediterranean. The Rear-admirals Stevens and Cornish commanded in the East Indies, Rear-admiral Holmes at Jamaica, Sir James Douglas at the Leeward Islands, and Lord Colville at Halifax in Nova Scotia. Besides these, single ships cruised in different parts in order to protect the British merchantmen, and squadrons were occasionally equipped under various commanders.

The scene of action, in the year 1761, opened in the East Indies. After the defeat of the French near Wandewash, the taking of the city Arcot, and the reduction of the fortresses of Chitteput and Carrical, the French were blocked up in Pondicherry, a town of nearly four miles in circuit, elegantly built, strongly fortified, and defended by the whole force which remained to the enemy on the coast of Coromandel. The periodical rains which fall on that coast rendered a regular siege impracticable; so that the blockade, which had been commenced by the fleet under Admiral Stevens and the land forces under Colonel Coote, was continued with the best disposition, and the most extraordinary patience, for full seven months. On the 26th of November, 1760, four

batteries were raised, at some distance, to enfilade the streets of Pondicherry, whilst others were advanced nearer, in order to play upon the works. The works of the besiegers suffered much from storms, which ruined the batteries and approaches: but these were repaired with great alacrity, and the enemy was reduced to the most extreme distress. They lived on camels, elephants, dogs, and cats. Even this wretched provision was so scarce, that it was purchased at an immense price: five pounds had been paid for the flesh of a dog.

In the midst of this distress their hopes were suddenly revived by a dreadful misfortune which happened to the English fleet. On the 1st of January, 1761, one of those terrible tempests, so destructive and so frequent in the Indian seas, obliged Admiral Stevens to slip his cables and put to sea. The rest of the British squadron were driven from before the walls of Pondicherry. The Duke of Aquitaine and the Sunderland foundered in the storm, and their crews perished. The Newcastle, the Queenborough, and Protector fire-ship, were driven on shore and destroyed; but the men were happily saved, together with the guns, stores, and provisions. Many other ships sustained considerable damage. This unexpected disaster elevated to the highest pitch the spirits of the garrison, and General Lally, seeing the port clear, lost not a moment to send an express to the French agent in the neighbouring neutral settlements, in order to obtain a supply of provisions. This letter was intercepted by Admiral Stevens, and is published in the Appendix, No. I. as it discovers the singular character of this daring adventurer. As the admiral imagined, that Lally had made the same solicitations by other messengers, he immediately dispatched letters to the Dutch and Danish settlements, mentioning the good condition of the greater part of his fleet, and assuring them that he would make prize of such vessels as he found infringing the neu-

trality by attempting to supply the enemy. He was sufficiently in a condition to make good his threats; for, in four days after the storm, he had, with incredible diligence and celerity, repaired the damage of his ships, and appeared before Pondicherry with eleven sail of the line and two frigates, all fit for service. The siege was now carried on with redoubled ardour. By the 15th of January a battery was raised within point blank; a breach was effected in the curtain; the west face and flank of the north-west bastion were ruined, and the guns of the enemy entirely silenced. The principal of the Jesuits came out with two civilians, and proposed terms of capitulation in the name of the inhabitants. General Lally disdained to capitulate, but sent out a paper, full of invectives against the English for breach of treaties relative to India: the obstinacy of the governor made the proposal of the inhabitants be disregarded; so that the city of Pondicherry, with a garrison of nearly two thousand European soldiers, a vast quantity of military stores, and great riches, was, without any formal surrender, abandoned to the discretion of the besiegers.

After the reduction of Pondicherry on the coast of Coromandel, a body of English forces was embarked for an expedition against Mahie, a settlement on the coast of Malabar, which the French had lately fortified at a very considerable expence. The place was attacked with so much vigour, that the French governor thought proper to surrender it about the beginning of February, by which means the English obtained the command of the whole peninsula of India, the most extensive as well as the most profitable sphere of commerce in the world.

These important successes had not, since the commencement of the war, been chequered by any considerable misfortune attending the British arms in the east. We must, not, however, omit to mention the achievements of Count D'Estaing, who in the

year 1759 had made himself master of the English fort of Gombroon, in the Gulf of Persia, and taken two frigates, with three other vessels belonging to the company. He performed this with four ships under Dutch colours, one of which carried sixty-four guns, and another twenty-two, with a land-force of one hundred and fifty Europeans, and about two hundred Caffres. In the succeeding year, the fort Natal, on the coast of Africa, surrendered to him at discretion, and he found two ships in the road. He afterwards sailed to Sumatra, where the English carried on a great trade in pepper, and, before the end of the following April, reduced Tapponapoli and Bencoolen or Marlborough Fort, which last, though in a good state of defence, was ingloriously abandoned by the English garrison, after they had burnt a vessel richly loaded; *viz.* the Denham Indiaman, that lay in the harbour. The activity and enterprise of Monsieur D'Estaing would deserve commendation, if his character had not been strongly marked with perfidy and cruelty. He had surrendered himself at the siege of Madras, and had engaged not to serve against the English until he should be regularly exchanged; so that, when he attacked Gambroon, he was a prisoner on parole. When he became master of that place, he paid no regard to the terms on which it had surrendered. He promised to prevent thefts and disorders; but the houses were set on fire, and the factory given up to the licentious pillage of the Arabs.

After the expulsion of the French from North America, the English found in the Cherokees a cruel and barbarous and not an unwarlike enemy. They defended themselves with a savage heroism against the superior arts of a civilized nation, nor could they be reduced to the necessity of accepting a peace from their conquerors, until the English had penetrated with great courage and perseverance into their country, destroying fifteen of their towns or villages,

and burnt or cut down the greatest part of their harvest.

While the continent of North America was thus reduced to a state of undisturbed obedience, the British squadrons were still carrying on their conquests in the West Indies. On the 4th of June Sir James Douglas sailed from Guadaloupe with the Dublin, Belliqueux, Sunderland, and Montague, four ships of the line, and a considerable body of land-forces under the command of Lord Rollo, destined for an expedition against the Island of Dominica. This island, though one of those called neutral, had been occupied and fortified by the French. Its extent is about ten leagues in length, and eight in breadth; it is well watered by rivers plentifully supplied with fish; produces abundant pasture for cattle, and is very fruitful in coffee, cocoa, tobacco, and cotton. It is situated within ten leagues of Martinico, the capital of the French sugar-islands, which, in case of an invasion, it could easily supply with men and provisions; a circumstance which rendered it of great importance to France, and an object worthy the ambition of the British ministry.

The armament under Lord Rollo and Sir James Douglas arrived within a league of Roseau, the capital of Dominica, on the 6th of June; and the fleet having anchored, a lieutenant of the navy, accompanied by a land-officer, was immediately dispatched with a manifesto, signed by the commodore and general, requiring the inhabitants of the neutral island of Dominica to surrender, and take the oaths of allegiance to his Majesty King George. The manifesto being read to the people of Roseau, some of the principal inhabitants set off in a boat, and went on board the English fleet. Their behaviour and conversation discovered no dislike to the British Government: on the contrary, they seemed very well pleased that his Majesty's forces had come to take possession of the island. But when they were put on shore in the

afternoon, they as well as the rest of the inhabitants, were encouraged by the French governor, M. Longprice, to stand on the defensive, and to declare they would not tamely surrender, while they had arms in their hands. As soon as this determination was known, the ships anchored as near as possible to the shore, and the necessary dispositions were made for landing the troops. This was effected, about five in the evening, under cover of the shipping. They formed quickly on the beach; and, while the main division took possession of the town, the corps of grenadiers, consisting of the companies of the fourth and twenty-second regiments, seized a flanking battery, and part of the adjoining entrenchment, which had been abandoned. But the enemy continued to annoy the British troops by their musquetry from behind bushes and trees, and by their cannon fired from a battery which overlooked the town. By this means the troops might have suffered greatly during the night; the enemy, perhaps, might have been reinforced before morning, and, fortified in a strong post with four entrenchments on a steep hill, might have been enabled to make a vigorous defence. Lord Rollo, therefore, judged it best to order them to be immediately dislodged by the grenadiers supported by the battalions; which service was performed with so much order and rapidity, that, before night, the French were driven successively from all their entrenchments, and the battery above them; where Colonel Melvill immediately took post with his grenadiers. Lord Rollo continued at their advanced post during the night, having established a communication, by proper guards, with the rest of the troops who possessed the town. Next day he established his head-quarters at Roseau, where he received the submission of the inhabitants, who came to lay down their arms, and take the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty.

While this important conquest was acquired by the assistance of part of the squadron belonging to the

Leeward Islands, the remainder were employed in protecting the British traders, and scouring those seas of the Martinico privateers, of which they took a great number. Nor was the squadron stationed off Jamaica less vigilant, or less alert: Rear-admiral Holmes who commanded there, planned his cruisers with judgment, and executed the business with success. Having received intelligence in the beginning of June, that several ships of war belonging to the enemy had sailed from Port Louis, he immediately made such a disposition of his squadron as was most likely to intercept them. He himself in the Hampshire fell in with the St. Anne, and chaced her to leeward down upon the Centaur. The French captain, perceiving this last ship, and dreading the danger of being between two fires, hauled up between them, and ran close in shore, until he was becalmed about a league to the northward of Donna Maria Bay. The Centaur chaced, and got up along-side; upon which the Frenchman, who had fired his stern chace, struck his colours, and surrendered a very fine ship, pierced for sixty-four guns, loaded with coffee, sugar, and indigo, and manned with nearly four hundred sailors and marines.

Earlier in the same year the French were foiled in an attempt to regain a footing on the coast of Africa. They were too sensible of the advantages attending the lucrative trade of this coast, to remain satisfied under a total exclusion from it. In order to recover some part of what they had lost, they sent two frigates to surprise James-Fort at the mouth of the Gambia. The little garrison there, received them with such resolution, that one frigate was forced on shore, and lost; and the other sailed off, after having sustained considerable damage. There had been two more frigates appointed by the French to act on this service. But these had been intercepted by Sir Edward Hawke's squadron, stationed in the Bay of Quiberon.

This unimportant capture, and that of a few mer-

chantmen of little value, did not justify to the nation the inactivity in which the British squadron on the coast of France had been allowed to remain. Something of greater consequence was expected from such a powerful armament under the direction of such naval commanders as Sir Edward Hawke and Sir Charles Hardy. But in the month of March, to the general surprise and indignation of the public, the two admirals returned to Spithead, and another squadron, with a great body of land-forces on board, was afterwards sent to occupy their station. This squadron consisted of the Sandwich, ninety guns; the Valiant, Temeraire, Torbay, Dragon, and Swiftsure, seventy-four guns each; the Prince of Orange, seventy guns; the Hampton-court and Essex, sixty-four guns each; the Achilles, sixty guns; and several frigates, bomb-ketches, and fire-ships, with upwards of an hundred transports, carrying nine hundred soldiers, under the command of Major-general Hodgson. The expedition was intended against Belleisle, the reduction of which, it was imagined, would be attended with inconsiderable difficulties and many advantages. This island is between twelve and thirteen leagues in circumference, and the largest of all the European islands belonging to the French king. It contains only one city called La Palais, three country towns, one hundred and three villages, and about five thousand inhabitants, who live by the natural fertility of the soil, and the curing and vending of pilchards. There are three harbours in this island, Palais, Lauzion, and Goulfard, every one of which labours under some considerable defect. But, although the harbours are bad, small privateers might issue from thence greatly to the molestation of the French coasting trade, and the fleet of England might ride, between these harbours and the continent of France, in a well-protected road. The real advantages, however, arising, from this conquest, were not the only inducements to undertake it. No-

thing could wound more cruelly the pride of France than the acquisition of what might be regarded as a part of her coast; and, at the same time, the jealousy of Spain would be less alarmed by our advantages in this quarter, than by those which we might obtain by pushing our conquests in the West Indies.

The fleet sailed from Spithead on the 29th of March, in three divisions, commanded by Commodore Keppel, Sir Thomas Stanhope, and Captain Barton. On the 6th of April a westerly wind enabled them to approach the coast of France, and the commodore detached several frigates, with orders to station themselves in such a manner as might intercept the enemy's communication with the continent. Next morning the fleet passed along the southern shore of the island, and came to an anchor in the great road, about twelve o'clock at noon. The commanders agreed, that the descent ought to be made on the south-east extremity of the island, near the Point Lomaria. But, in order to amuse the enemy, a feint was made to attack the citadel of Palais, while two large ships conveyed the troops to the intended landing-place, and silenced a battery which the enemy had there erected. The flat-bottomed boats were now approaching the shore, and about two hundred and sixty had actually landed under the command of Major Purcel and Captain Osborne, when the enemy, suddenly appearing on the heights, poured in such a severe fire as threw them into the utmost confusion, and intimidated the rest of the troops from landing. Captain Osborne, at the head of sixty grenadiers, advanced with great intrepidity so near as to exchange several thrusts with the French officer. But the handful of men which he commanded were soon overpowered by numbers. He himself, as well as Major Purcel, and two sea-officers, were shot, and the attempt ended with the loss of above five hundred killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. This discouraging check was succeeded by tempestuous wea-

ther, which did considerable damage to the large vessels, and staved or overset twenty flat-bottomed boats.

These disasters did not dispirit the English commanders. They determined to examine the whole coast, in order to find a place more favourable for another attack. As soon as the weather afforded them the prospect of making a second trial, they pitched on a place near the above-mentioned point of Lomaria, where the excessive steepness and difficulty of the rocks had rendered the enemy less attentive than elsewhere. On the 22d of April, in the morning, the troops were disposed in flat-bottomed boats, and rowed towards different parts of the island; which distracted the French operations, and obliged them to divide their forces. Meanwhile Captain Paterson, at the head of Beauclerk's grenadiers, and Captain Murray, with a detachment of Marines, landed near Lomaria, mounted the precipice with astonishing intrepidity, and sustained the whole fire of the enemy, until they were reinforced by the approach of the greatest part of the English troops. The French then retired before the bayonets of the British soldiers, leaving many of their wounded companions and several field-pieces. Nor was the action without loss on our side. Forty men were killed, and many more wounded, among whom were Colonel Mackenzie and Captain Murray of the marines, and Captain Paterson of Beauclerk's grenadiers, who lost his arm in the engagement.

The whole army being now landed, M. De St. Croix ordered all his out-posts to repair to a camp under the walls of the town of Palais, where he determined to make a vigorous defence, his forces, when joined by the militia of the island, amounting to four thousand men fit for service. On the 23d of April the English troops were formed into columns, and began their march towards the capital of the island. Next day General Hodgson ordered a de-

tachment of light horse to take post at Sauzon ; and, on the 25th, a corps of infantry took possession of a village called Bordilla ; and the whole army intrenched itself in that neighbourhood. The tempestuous weather rendering it impossible to bring on shore the artillery and implements necessary in a siege, the French governor seized this opportunity to erect six redoubts for defending the avenues of Palais, the citadel of which had been planned and fortified with admirable skill by the celebrated Vauban. General Hodgson, compelled by necessity to defer his military operations, published a manifesto, addressed to the inhabitants, offering them the free enjoyment of their religious and civil rights, provided they would submit themselves to the protection of the English government; an assurance which had considerable effect on the natives, but produced no alteration on the resolution of the governor, who, when summoned to surrender, declared he was determined to defend the place to the last extremity. About the latter end of April some mortars being brought up, began to play upon the town, and the besiegers broke ground on the 2d of May. The day after, in the evening, the enemy attacked the trenches with great vigour, and threw the piquets on the left in confusion. Notwithstanding the efforts of General Crawford, who performed every thing that could be expected from the bravery and conduct of an experienced officer, the works of the besiegers were destroyed, several hundreds of their men were killed, and the general with his two aids-du-camp fell into the hands of the enemy. The French did not attempt to push the advantage any farther, by attacking the piquets on the right, who had prepared to give them a warm reception. They retired after their first success, and allowed the British to repair the damage which they had sustained. This was done in less than twenty-four hours, and a redoubt was also begun on the right of the works to prevent a second surprise.

From this time the siege was carried on with the utmost vigour; and the besieged gave such continual proofs of their courage and activity, as confirmed the reputation of Monsieur De St. Croix for a gallant officer, consummate in the art of war. The engineers being unanimously of opinion that the works could not be properly advanced until the French redoubts should be taken, the general made the disposition for that purpose on the 13th. The attack began at day-break, with four pieces of cannon and thirty cohorns, which poured a terrible fire into the redoubt on the right of the enemy's flank. This opened a way for a detachment of marines, sustained by part of Loudon's regiment, to advance to the parapet, and, with fixed bayonets, to drive the French from the works, and take possession of the post. The other redoubts were successively reduced by the same detachment reinforced by Colvill's regiment, and the enemy were compelled, after great slaughter, to take shelter in the citadel. Such was the ardour of the assailants, that they entered the streets of Palais pell-mell with the fugitives; and having taken possession of the town, they released the English prisoners above-mentioned.

The defence being now confined entirely to the citadel, which could have no communication either with the rest of the island or with the continent of France, it was evident that the place must soon be obliged to surrender for want of provisions. But Monsieur De St. Croix determined to sell it as dearly as possible, and to maintain his own honour at least, if he could not the possession of the citadel of Palais. On the part of the English nothing was neglected. Parallels were finished, barricadoes made, batteries constructed, an incessant fire from mortars and artillery was maintained day and night, from the 13th of May till the 25th. Then the fire of the enemy began to abate; by the end of May a breach was made in the citadel; and, notwithstanding the inde-

fatigable industry of the governor in repairing the damage, the fire of the besiegers increased to such a degree, that the breach became practicable by the 7th of June, and the place was apparently no longer tenable. Then Monsieur De St. Croix capitulated upon terms not unworthy of his noble defence, and the garrison marched out with the honours of war. [Appendix, No. II.]

Thus was the whole island of Belleisle reduced under the English government after a defence of two months, in the course of which we lost eighteen hundred men killed and wounded. The loss most regretted was that of Sir William Williams, a young gentleman of great talents and expectations, who had already made a distinguished figure in parliament. He was the third gentleman of fashion, whom, in this war, the love of glory had brought to an honourable death in hostile expeditions against the coast of France.

Having particularized the successful operations of the British squadrons in the taking of Belleisle, Dominica, and Pondicherry, as well as in defeating the projects which the French meditated against our settlements on the coast of Africa, we shall mention the exploits performed by single cruisers in the course of the year, many of which confer the highest honour on the British flag. Captain Elphinstone, commander of the Richmond frigate, of thirty-two guns and two hundred and twenty men, stationed on the coast of Flanders, being informed that a French frigate called the Felicité had made a prize of an English merchantman, sailed in quest of the enemy; and coming in sight of her, about eleven at night on the 23d, a severe engagement began next day, about ten in the morning, near Gravesande, which is but eight miles distant from the Hague. The vicinity of the place induced the young prince of Orange, as well as the ambassadors of England and France to set out,

in order to view the combat, in the issue of which, as the ships were exactly of equal force, the honour of the two nations was materially interested. About noon both ships ran ashore, alongside of each other; and in this situation the fight continued with great obstinacy, till the French abandoned their quarters, their ship being much damaged, the captain slain, and above one hundred men killed or wounded. The Richmond soon floated, without sustaining any considerable hurt, having obtained the victory at the expence of three men killed, and thirteen wounded. The French ambassador loudly exclaimed against this attack as a violation of the Dutch neutrality, and demanded signal reparation for the insult and injury which his countrymen had sustained. But the Dutch at that time did not think it convenient to urge their remonstrances with vehemence, and they were answered in such a manner by the British ambassador as prevented any difficulties arising between the two courts.

On the 23d of the same month, Captain Hood, commanding the Minerva frigate of thirty-two guns and two hundred and twenty men, cruising in the chops of the channel, descried a large ship of two decks steering to the westward. This was the Warwick of sixty guns taken from the English, the most boasted capture the enemy had made in the course of the war. She had formerly carried sixty, but was now mounted with only thirty-six guns, and commanded by M. Le Verger de Belair. Her crew amounted to about three hundred men, including a company of soldiers intended as a reinforcement to the garrison of Pondicherry. Notwithstanding her superiority, Captain Hood gave chace, and the wind blowing a fresh easterly gale, he came up with her at twenty minutes past ten. His attack was warmly returned; the fire on both sides was terrible. Several masts of both ships were shot away, and they fell foul of one another, while the sea ran very high; so

that the crews were greatly incumbered by their broken masts and shattered rigging. The high sea separated them, and the Warwick fell to leeward. About a quarter after eleven the Minerva's bowsprit was carried away, and the fore-mast soon followed it. This misfortune made Captain Hood almost despair of coming up with the enemy, who had got three leagues to leeward. However, he cleared his ship with incredible activity, and, bearing down, renewed the attack about four o'clock. In three quarters of an hour the enemy struck, having thirteen men killed and thirty-five wounded. The loss of men was equal on board the Minerva, and all her masts were destroyed: nevertheless, her prize was conveyed in triumph to Spithead. On the 8th of the same month, Captain Hood had taken the Ecureil privateer belonging to Bayonne, of fourteen guns and one hundred and twenty-two men.

On the 13th of March, another French ship called the Entreprenant, built for forty-four guns, but mounted with twenty-six, having two hundred men on board, and a rich cargo, bound for St. Domingo, was encountered near the Land's-end by the Vengeance frigate commanded by Captain Nightingale. The Vengeance was mounted with twenty-six guns, nine and four pounders, and carried two hundred men. There was a great disparity in the size of the ships, and in the weight of metal. But the English captain, as usual, gave chace, and got up with the enemy at five o'clock in the afternoon. The action was maintained on both sides with uncommon fury, and continued for nearly an hour, during which time the Vengeance being set on fire, the Entreprenant ran her bowsprit upon the taffaril of the English frigate, with an intention to board her. In this design, however, the French miscarried through the skill and activity of Captain Nightingale, who found means to clear himself, and stood to leeward, in order to repair his rigging. The ship was no sooner in proper con-

dition, than he ranged close up again to the enemy, whose fire was still directed against the rigging of the English frigate, which, after this second attack had lasted above an hour, being again disabled, allowed the enemy to sheer off, and bear away. But the English a second time repaired their damage, wore ship, ran up within pistol-shot, and began a third attack more furious than any of the preceding. The engagement continued an hour and a half before the Entreprenant called for quarter. She had fifteen men killed, and twenty-four wounded. The Vengeance had an equal number wounded, but only six men killed.

These losses did not complete the misfortunes of the French navy during the present year in the British seas. In April, a French frigate called the Comete, of thirty-two guns and two hundred and fifty men, just sailed from Brest, was taken by Captain Deane of the Bedford man of war, and conveyed safely into Portsmouth. About the same time, Captain Bograve, of the Albany sloop of sixteen guns and one hundred and twenty-five men, came up with the Pheasant frigate, of equal force, after a chace of twenty-eight hours. The French captain having thrown his guns overboard, struck as soon as the Albany came alongside of him, and the prize was carried into Spithead. In the course of the same month, a large East India ship, fitted out from France, with twenty-eight guns and three hundred and fifty men, fell in with the Hero and the Venus, commanded by Captains Fortescue and Harrison, and, being taken without opposition, was carried into Plymouth.

The same spirit of enterprise and activity distinguished the cruisers belonging to the squadron commanded by Vice-admiral Saunders in the Mediterranean. In the beginning of April, the Oriflamme, a French ship of forty guns, being off Cape Tres Foreas, was descried by the Isis of fifty guns, commanded by Captain Wheeler. The English captain

gave chace, and came up with the enemy about six o'clock in the evening; but the Frenchman having the advantage of the wind, maintained a running fight till half past ten, during which, Captain Wheeler, unfortunately, was shot. The command devolved on Lieutenant Cunningham, who, perceiving it to be the enemy's intention to reach, if possible, the neutral coast of Spain, ordered his men to board her, which was done with great bravery; and, her commander in a short time submitting, she was brought into the Bay of Gibraltar. The number of her killed and wounded amounted to forty-five: the loss of the Isis did not exceed four killed, and nine wounded. The next action in those seas was much more destructive to the British sailors. The Thunderer, Captain Proby, in company with the Modeste, Thetis, and Favourite sloop, cruised off the coast of Spain, with a view to intercept the Achilles and Bouffon, two French ships of war, which lay in the harbour of Cadiz. These were descried on the 16th of July by the British ships, which gave them chace. The Thunderer came up with the Achilles about midnight, and after a short, but warm action of half an hour, obliged the enemy to strike. The French had, on this occasion, fired their guns with more effect than usual; for in the English ship forty men were killed, and upwards of one hundred wounded; among the latter was the captain. The Thetis pursued the Bouffon, but could not bring her to an engagement till seven next morning. The engagement was maintained on both sides with great impetuosity for the space of half an hour, when the Modeste ranging up, and thus putting the French ship between two fires, compelled her to submit. The victors carried their prizes, which had been much damaged in their rigging, and suffered great loss in their crews, into the Bay of Gibraltar.

These advantageous captures were preludes to one of the most remarkable and glorious actions that dis-

tinguished the whole war. On the 10th of August, Captain Faulkner of the Bellona, a ship of the line, and Captain Logie of the Brilliant, a frigate of thirty guns, sailed from the river Tagus for England, and, on the 14th, discovered three sail standing in for the land, one of the line of battle, and two frigates. These vessels had no sooner descried Captain Faulkner, than they bore down upon him until within the distance of seven miles, when, seeing the Bellona and the Brilliant through the magnifying medium of a hazy atmosphere, they concluded they were both two-decked ships, and, dreading the issue of an engagement, resolved to avoid it by flight. The English captains, judging them to be enemies by their crowding sail to escape, immediately chaced, which continued all night. At five in the morning they approached so near as to discern the Courageux, a seventy-four gun ship, and two frigates of thirty-six guns, the Malicieuse and the Hermioné. The French captain now perceived that one of the English vessels was a frigate; and the Bellona, being one of the best constructed ships in the English navy, lay so flush in the water, that she appeared at a distance considerably smaller than she really was. The Frenchman, therefore, no longer declined the engagement, but hoisted a red ensign in the mizen-shrouds as a signal for his two frigates to close with and attack the Brilliant. At the same time he took in his studding-sails, wore ship, and stood for the Bellona, while Captain Faulkner advanced with an easy sail, manned his quarters, and made every necessary disposition for an obstinate engagement.

Both commanders had a fair opportunity to measure their strength and abilities. The wind was gentle, the sea calm; the ships were of equal rates, their guns and weight of metal the same. The Courageux had seven hundred men; the Bellona five hundred and fifty. While the vessels came up with each other, the fire was suspended on both sides, till

they were within pistol-shot. The engagement then began with a dreadful fire of muskets and artillery. In less than ten minutes all the Bellona's braces, shrouds, and rigging, were tore and shattered, and her mizen-mast went by the board, with the men on the round top, who saved their lives with much difficulty, by clambering into the port-holes. Captain Faulkner, apprehensive that the enemy would seize the opportunity of his being disabled, to sheer off, gave orders for immediate boarding; but the Courageux, by falling athwart the bow of her enemy, rendered this altogether impracticable. In this position the English ship might be raked fore and aft with great execution. The haul-yards, and most of the other ropes by which she could be worked, were already shot away. But Captain Faulkner made use of the studding-sails with such dexterity as to wear the ship quite round: and his officers and men perceiving this change of position, flew to the guns on the other side, now opposed to the enemy, from which they poured a terrible discharge, which continued twenty minutes without intermission or abatement. The fire became so intolerable that the French hauled down their ensign, and called for quarter. The damage done to the rigging of the Bellona was considerable; but she had suffered very little in the hull, and the number of the killed and wounded did not exceed forty. The Courageux, on the other hand, appeared like a wreck on the water. Nothing was seen but her fore-mast and bowsprit; her decks were torn up in several places, and large breaches were made in her sides. Above two hundred and twenty of her men were killed, and half that number of wounded were brought on shore at Lisbon, to which place the prize was conveyed.

During the action between the larger ships, Captain Logie of the Brilliant had displayed the most signal courage and address. He could not attempt to board, or expect to make prize of two ships, each

of which was of equal strength with his own. But he so managed his attack and defence as to keep the two French frigates continually employed, and to prevent either of them from giving the smallest assistance to the Courageux. Finally, he obliged them both to sheer off, and to consult their safety by flight, after they had suffered considerably in their masts and rigging.

In all the engagements which we have described, the advantage was continually on the side of the English. The French neither managed their ships with that facility, nor fought their guns with that dexterity and skill, which appeared in all the operations of their opponents. Their awkwardness in working ship may be ascribed to inexperience; but their inferiority in managing their guns, it is impossible to refer to any such cause. The French sailors are regularly taught the practical part of gunnery, an advantage which the English, in general, have little opportunity to acquire. But even here the British seamen shewed themselves, on every occasion, superior to the enemy; a superiority owing, not to their education or discipline, but to that bravery and resolution which never forsake them in the moment of danger, but allow them to remain in full possession of their faculties at a time when the French are rendered incapable, through fear, of any vigorous exertion either of mind or body.

In the course of the year 1761, the French lost one hundred and seventeen privateers and armed merchantmen, which mounted six hundred and ninety-eight carriage-guns and two hundred and thirty-nine swivels, and carried five thousand five hundred and seventy-six men, exclusive of four Indiamen, of which the cargoes were valued at nearly 400,000*l.* and many unarmed merchant-ships. Their royal navy was deprived of six ships of the line and eight frigates, which together carried six hundred and thirty-six guns and six thousand two hundred

and forty men. In the course of the same year the English lost eight hundred and fourteen merchantmen, a proportion of three to one, which arose from the inattention of the English vessels to the orders of the convoys sent to protect them, from the immense numbers of them which covered the seas, and from the enemy's venturing the whole remains of their strength in privateers fitted out in order to interrupt our commercial navigation. Among all the vessels that were taken, we find but one of any considerable value, the Ajax East Indiaman, Captain Lindsey from Bengal, valued at 200,000*l.* Excepting the Warwick, which was retaken, the royal navy lost but one small vessel, the Speedwell cutter of eight guns; and the captain was honourably acquitted by a court-martial, who were unanimously of opinion, that the said cutter, being taken in the harbour of Vigo, was an illegal capture. There is a circumstance which shews in a clearer light than the number of captures, the general result of the naval advantages obtained by Great Britain. Notwithstanding the various exchanges made by cartel ships in the course of the year, we still retained in our possession upwards of twenty-five thousand French prisoners; whereas the number of English prisoners in France did not exceed one thousand two hundred.

Notwithstanding many spirited exertions of the English navy in the year 1761, it is obvious that the naval as well as the military operations of Great Britain had continued gradually to languish during the course of two years. The French, like ruined gamesters, had little more to lose, and the smallness of the stake produced a degree of phlegm and indifference in the victors, which deprived them of their wonted activity. Besides this, all their external glory could not alleviate their domestic sufferings. Great Britain groaned under a burden of an hundred millions, without enjoying any other consolation than that of seeing her opponent as much indebted, and more ex-

hausted, than herself. Had the parties, therefore, been left to their own strength and resources, there would speedily have been an end of the contest. But France, by a dexterity of negociation, of which there is hardly an example in history, acquired, at the end of a most ruinous war, such a powerful and hearty assistance as afforded her the fairest hopes of retrieving all her misfortunes. We have already hinted at the partiality of Spain in the cause of our enemies, and the motives of her uneasiness at the unexampled success of the British arms. These were heightened by the intrigues of the French ambassador at the court of Madrid; so that while our artful and ambitious rival was negociating a treaty at London, and seemed desirous of procuring the blessings of peace by the most humiliating concessions, her minister at the Spanish court was employed in such measures as, instead of extinguishing the flames of war, tended to spread them more widely, and to make them rage with redoubled fury. Every concession on the part of France was a new incentive to the animosity of Spain. When the negociation of the peace, therefore, seemed nearest to a conclusion, it was precisely at that time the farthest removed from an happy issue; for then was the moment for Spain to interpose, and, at one explosion, to blow up the whole basis of the treaty. Along with a very agreeable plan for an accommodation, M. Bussy, the French agent at London, delivered a private memorial, signifying, that, in order to establish the peace upon the most solid foundation, it might be proper to invite the king of Spain to guarantee and confirm it; and for this purpose it would be necessary finally to adjust the differences which subsisted between the crowns of Spain and England. He condescended to admit three points which had been disputed between these crowns, *viz.* the restitution of the captures which had been made on the Spanish flag; the privilege of the Spanish nation to fish on the Banks of Newfoundland; and the

demolition of the English settlements made in the Bay of Honduras.

When these unexpected proposals were made, the manly spirit of Mr. Pitt rejected, with the utmost scorn, the idea of negociating the disputes of his nation with Spain, a power with which we were actually at peace, through the medium of an enemy humbled and almost at our feet. He called on the Spanish ambassador to disavow this extraordinary memorial, which was equally insolent and irregular, as matters of such high moment, relating to the interests of Spain, ought not to have been proposed by a French agent, commissioned to negociate a particular and distinct business, when the Spaniards had an ambassador residing in London, from whom no intimation of these matters had been previously received. But the Spaniard, when thus called upon, instead of disavowing, openly acknowledged and justified the step taken by Monsieur De Bussy. He declared that the kings of France and of Spain were united not only by the ties of blood but by a mutual interest. He magnified the humanity and greatness of mind which his Most Christian Majesty demonstrated in the proposition which had so unjustly given offence. He insisted much on the sincere desire of peace, the only motive which influenced the conduct of the two monarchs, and concluded haughtily, that, if his master had been governed by any other principles, "his Catholic Majesty, giving full scope to his greatness, would have spoken from himself, and as became his dignity."

Mr. Pitt had penetration enough to see through the veil that covered this hostile declaration. He perceived, that there was a perfect union of affections, interests, and councils between the two courts: that Spain must inevitably coincide with all the measures of France; and that, if she deferred to declare war, it was only for her own convenience, and especially because she waited the arrival of her flota from

America. Totally possessed with this idea, the minister determined to act with a magnanimity becoming the dignity of his nation.

Great Britain was singularly circumstanced at this period of time. She had carried on a continental war against France, Austria, the Empire, Russia, in a word, all the great northern powers on the continent. She had destroyed the marine, the commerce, and the colonies of France. The interference of Spain alone was wanting to set her at war with all the great powers of Europe; and Spain is precisely that country against which she can at all times contend, with the fairest prospect of advantage and honour. That extensive monarchy, though vigorous at the extremities, is exhausted at the heart; her resources lie at a great distance: and whatever power commands the ocean, may command the wealth and commerce of Spain.

The situation of Great Britain, as well as the character of the minister, soared above the timid policy which commonly prevails in modern courts. There was not only a great man, but a great occasion, which is often wanting to a great man to display the full force of his mind. Mr. Pitt asserted, with the magnanimous patriotism of an ancient Roman, that, despising, useless ceremonies, and insignificant forms, we ought to consider the evasions of the Spanish court as a refusal of satisfaction, and that refusal as a sufficient declaration of war: we ought, therefore, from prudence, as well as from spirit, to secure to ourselves the first blow, by interrupting the Spanish resources in their arrival to Europe, and by the same early and effective measures, which had reduced France to a dependance on Spain, disable Spain from giving assistance to France. This procedure was suited to the offended Majesty of the British empire, and would teach Spain and every other power the danger of presuming to dictate in our affairs, or to intermeddle with a menacing mediation, as insidious as it was au-

dacious. He would allow our enemies, whether secret or declared, no time to think and recollect themselves.

The sentiments of Mr. Pitt shocked the delicacy of his colleagues in administration. They talked of the chimerical heroism of unnecessarily entering on a war, and of seeking new enemies, while no mention was made of new allies, nor indeed of any new resource whatsoever. To plunge into such measures, could not fail to alarm and scandalize all Europe. The Spanish king's partiality in favour of France was still doubtful; but had we real cause not only for suspicion but complaint, the law of nations and of reason requires, that recourse should be had to expostulation, and demands of satisfaction. If these failed of success, then is the time to take up arms, after employing the forms universally acknowledged among civilized nations, as necessary to distinguish lawful war from lawless violence and oppression. This unseasonable opposition transported the minister beyond the bounds of moderation. He affirmed, "That this was the time for humbling the whole house of Bourbon; that, if this opportunity were let slip, it might never be recovered, and, if he could not prevail in this instance he was resolved to sit no longer in that council; that being called to the ministry by the voice of the people, to whom he was accountable for his conduct, he would not remain in a situation which made him responsible for measures which he was not permitted to guide." Accordingly, he resigned the seals the 9th of October, and his colleagues continued to negociate by means of Lord Bristol, ambassador at the court of Madrid, for nearly two months longer. M. Wall, the prime minister of Spain, was repeatedly solicited, in moderate and inoffensive terms, to disclose the nature of the treaty, which, as the French industriously circulated, had taken place among all the different branches of the house of Bourbon. As often as the question was proposed, it was artfully

avoided. At length, Lord Bristol being instructed to make the demand with greater force, M. Wall entered into a long and bitter complaint against England, accused her of insolence and ambition, of a boundless desire of conquest and dominion, and of having shown to the world, by the haughtiness of her late proceedings, that she intended to drive the French from all their possessions in the new world, that she might have an easier task in seizing the Spanish dominions in those parts; that he would be the man to advise the king of Spain not to suffer his territories to be invaded without arming his subjects in their defence. As to the question which had been so often put to him, he gave no other reply, but that the king his master had thought proper to renew his family compacts; and then, as if he had gone farther than he was authorized, he suddenly changed the discourse, and continued his declamatory invective against Great Britain. This was the happy effect of the measures of the English ministry, whose forbearance and good breeding were repaid by insult and reproach. At length, their patience forsook them: they perceived that longer moderation would be construed into fear, and they sent orders to Lord Bristol to renew his demands concerning the treaty with becoming firmness, while at the same time he signified, that a refusal to disclose its contents, or to disavow an intention to take part with our enemies, would be considered as an aggression on the part of Spain, and an absolute declaration of war. The demand was made in the precise terms of the order, and then the pride of Spain tore asunder that veil which her policy had so long thought proper to assume. Her flota was by this time safe in the harbour of Cadiz. She was now secure as to her interest, and could give full scope to her resentment. M. Wall, therefore, replied to the English requisition in these memorable words: "That the spirit of haughtiness and discord, which dictated this inconsiderate demand of the English mi-

nistry, and which, for the misfortune of mankind, still reigns so much in the British government, is what has made the declaration of war ; that in that moment the war was declared, when the king's dignity was attacked; and that the English ambassador might return how and when he thought proper."

The earl of Bristol quitted Madrid the 17th of December ; and, soon after, the Spanish ambassador left London. Europe was thus plunged into a new war, by the very means which had been used to draw her out of an old one. A mere punctilio, if we can possibly believe M. Wall, was the motive which weighed with his master and himself, and prompted their humane magnanimity to involve one half of Europe in discord and misery. But whoever diligently attends to the measures of the Spanish court from the memorial presented by M. De Bussy to the final answer of M. Wall, will perceive, that their motives to hostility were of a nature more serious and important. The insult offered to the king's honour in the question proposed by Lord Bristol, might have been easily done away. Spain might have required England to disavow the proceedings of her ambassador, a request which, upon sufficient security of the pacific intentions of the former, the latter would readily have granted. But the insult to the king's honour was held out as a pretence for coming to a rupture at a time which seemed to suit the interests of Spain. The real cause of the war was her partiality for the French, her uneasiness at seeing the eldest branch of the house of Bourbon reduced to extremity, and her jealousy of the growing power of England, whose renown offended her pride, and whose naval greatness threatened the safety of her distant dominions. It appeared, however, to M. Wall, to be below the dignity of the Spanish monarch to avow reasons of disgust, in which fear seemed to have any share. He, therefore, directed the Count De Fuentes, his ambassador at London, to carry on the farce, and, before

he left the English court, to publish a paper or manifesto, in which he assigns, as the only cause of the rupture, the insulting manner in which the affairs of Spain had been treated during Mr. Pitt's administration. He declares to the British king, to the English nation, and to the whole universe, that the horrors of war, into which the Spaniards and English are going to plunge themselves, must be attributed only to the immeasurable ambition of him who held the reigns of the government, and who appears still to hold them, although by another hand; that, if the respect due to royal majesty had been regarded, explanations might have been had without any difficulty; the ministers of Spain might have said frankly to those of England, what the Count De Fuentes, by the king's express orders, declares publicly; viz. that the much-talked-of treaty is only a convention between the members of the family of Bourbon, wherein there is nothing that has the least relation to the present war; that there is an article for the mutual guaranty of the dominions of the two sovereigns, but it is specified therein that this guaranty is not to be understood but of the dominions which shall remain to France after the present war shall be ended.

This extraordinary paper, which may be called the king of Spain's declaration of war against the right honourable William Pitt, Esq. was evidently intended for the ignoble purpose of sowing dissensions among the subjects of Great Britain. It was answered in every article with the utmost moderation, perspicuity, and force, in a memorial published by Lord Egremont, who succeeded Mr. Pitt as Secretary for the southern department. It is obvious, that the Spanish manifesto, while it pretends to set forth the purpose of a treaty dated the 15th of August, does not deny the existence of any other treaty, which might more offensively concern the interests of Great Britain; nor does it say the least word that can explain the intentions of Spain, or

the farther engagements that she may have contracted with France.

When the terms of this famous treaty came to be disclosed, it was found to contain articles sufficient to alarm not only Great Britain, against whose interests it was particularly levelled, but all the other powers of Europe. It was rather an act of incorporation, than of alliance among the kings of France, Spain, the two Sicilies, the duke of Parma, and all the branches of the Bourbon house. It contained stipulations hitherto unheard of in any treaty. By the 23d and 24th articles, the subjects of the several branches of that august family are admitted to a mutual naturalization, and to a general participation of reciprocal privileges and immunities. They appear, by the 26th article, to disclose to one another their alliances and negociations. By the 17th and 18th, they formally engage not to make, or even to listen to, any proposal of peace from their common enemies, but by mutual consent; being determined in time of peace, as well as in time of war, to consider the interests of France and Spain as the same; to compensate their several losses and advantages, and to act as if the two monarchies formed only one and the same power. There are but two restrictions to the extent of this scheme. The direct trade to America forms an exception to the absolute community of interests, and in the 8th article, it is provided, that France shall not be entitled to the assistance of Spain, when she is involved in a war in consequence of her engagements by the treaty of Westphalia, unless some maritime power take part in those wars. This article plainly points at the object against which the whole treaty was more immediately directed. It indicates, that the direct and immediate tendency of the whole is to affect England, and insinuates to the other powers of Europe, that their connection with England, is the circumstance which is to provoke the resentment, and call forth the activity, of Spain.

Excepting these two restrictions, the family compact produced that entire union between the French and Spanish monarchies, which was so much dreaded on the death of Charles II. and which it was the great object of the treaty of partition, and the war of the grand alliance, to prevent. France acquired by negociation and intrigue, what she could never acquire by force of arms, and, at the close of an unfortunate war, obtained an advantage greater than any she could have expected from the most fortunate issue of her affairs.

England was never placed in a more critical situation. She had to contend not only against all the great continental powers, but against the principal naval strength of Europe. When war was declared in January 1762, the Spaniards had at Ferrol eleven ships of the line ready to sail, and their whole fleet amounted to one hundred ships of war.

The French, upon the conclusion of the family compact, felt themselves animated with new vigour. The shattered remains of their navy became of consideration when united with that of Spain. The spirits of the people, long sunk in despondency, revived, and great exertions were made to put their fleet once more on a respectable footing. The government tried every resource: private merchants contributed the last farthing for equipping privateers, and several communities engaged to fit out men of war at their own expence.

Great Britain enjoyed peculiar and sufficient advantages to excite her activity, and to balance the combination of all her enemies. The uniform tenor of success on our side, made the people believe themselves invincible: and this belief, combined with the solid experience acquired in such a variety of services, and so many sharp conflicts by sea and land, inspired an enthusiasm of disciplined valour, which, indeed, rendered it almost impossible to resist them. The prospect of a Spanish war, while it held forth the

hopes of an immense plunder, conspired with the prevailing propensities, and roused to the most vigorous exertions of public and private strength. Nor had the parliament, which met the 3d of November, 1761, been wanting in liberality to second the generous ardour of the nation. They went through the estimates with diligence, and granted such liberal supplies, as greatly exceeded those of all former years. Seventy thousand seamen, including nineteen thousand and sixty-one marines, were voted for the service of the year 1762; the land forces were maintained at the number of sixty-seven thousand six hundred and seventy-six, besides the militia of England, the two regiments of fensible men in North Britain, the provincial troops in North America, and sixty-seven thousand one hundred and seventy seven German auxiliaries, to support the war of Westphalia. For the payment of the sea and land forces, of subsidies to our German allies, and of the deficiencies of the grants of former sessions, they voted the sum of 18,617,895*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* of which 12,000,000 were borrowed on remote funds, at four *per cent. per ann.* with an addition of 1 *per cent per ann.* for 99 years.

When war was declared against Spain, his Majesty granted a commission, empowering the admiralty to issue letters of marque, for privateers to act against the subjects of that kingdom. At the same time he communicated the measures which the treaty between Spain and France had compelled him to take, in a speech to both houses of parliament. Such ample supplies were already granted, that no farther demand was made on this account; and so immensely had the power of England encreased in the course of three reigns, that an union, the suspicion of which had alarmed all Europe in the time of the grand alliance, was beheld without the smallest symptom of fear or despondency. The king of Great Britain disdained not only to take any illiberal advantages of his enemies, but even to retort their wrongs. Although

his Catholic Majesty detained the British ships in his ports, and laid restraints on the British subjects within his dominions, the subjects of Spain were left at entire liberty, and the merchantmen which had arrived in English harbours, before they had been apprized of the declaration of war, were allowed to depart in safety. This magnanimity became the dignity of the British nation. It is the part of fear to snatch at every pitiful advantage. But had Britain descended so low, it would have been unworthy of the grand scene of action and glory, which was now ready to open in remote parts of the earth.

The failure of the expedition against Martinico in 1759, did not discourage our administration from making this island the object of another attempt. Martinico still furnished a considerable resource to the declining commerce of France. It is the largest of all the Caribbee islands, advantageously situated between Barbadoes and Guadaloupe, and to windward of Antigua and St. Christopher's. It extends twenty leagues in length, and is about one hundred and thirty miles in circumference, indented by a great number of creeks and harbours, diversified with hill and dale, shaded with wood, watered by many streams, and produces a very considerable quantity of sugar, indigo, coffee, cotton, ginger, aloes, and pimento. Here the governor-general of all the French islands in the West Indies resides, and here is established the sovereign council, whose jurisdiction extends over the French Antilles, and even to the settlements of that crown in the islands of St. Domingo and Tortuga. In a word, Martinico is the most populous and flourishing of all the French settlements across the Atlantic. Its towns and harbours are strongly fortified; the country itself is rendered extremely difficult of access by woods, rivers, rocks, and ravines; defended by a body of regular troops, besides a disciplined militia consisting of ten thousand white natives, and four times that number of

negroes, whom they can arm in cases of emergency. The acquisition of Martinico would, in case of a peace, furnish us with a place of the utmost importance, either to retain or to exchange; and if Spain was unchangeably determined on a war, it would put us on a respectable footing in that part of the world where the Spaniards are most vulnerable, and where they feel, with quickest sensibility, every wound affecting the vitals of the state.

The plan for prosecuting this important conquest had been laid down by Mr. Pitt; the preparations had been made, the officers appointed, and every necessary order given for carrying the whole design into execution. Upon a change of administration, the project was not abandoned. As every thing, which had been the object of war in North America, was by this time completely acquired, it was easy to draw a considerable part of the army from that quarter. A draught of eleven battalions was ordered from New York, and also to assemble the different bodies of troops that were scattered among the Leeward Islands. Rear-admiral Rodney sailed from England in October, and took on board his transports four battalions at Belleisle. The general rendezvous was in the Island of Barbadoes, where the united armaments from England and North America, amounting to eighteen battalions, and as many ships of the line, besides frigates, bombs, and fire-ships, arrived in the month of December. The land-forces alone fell little short of twelve thousand men; and, taking the military and naval force together, it was such an armament as had never before been seen in that part of the world. The fleet proceeded from Barbadoes the 5th day of January, and on the 8th anchored in St. Anne's Bay, on the eastern coast of Martinico, after the ships had silenced some batteries which the enemy had erected on that part of the island. In the course of this service, the Raisonable, a ship of the line, was, by the ignorance of the pilot, run upon

a reef of rocks, from which she could not be disengaged; but the crew were saved, as well as the stores and artillery. General Monkton, who commanded the land forces, judged this an improper place for a disembarkation, and therefore detached the Brigadiers Haviland and Grant under a strong convoy to the Bay of Petite Anse, where a battery was cannonaded, and taken by the seamen and marines. The detachment then effected a landing, and marched to the ground opposite to Pigeon Island, which commands the harbour of Fort Royal; but the roads being found impassable for artillery, General Monkton thought it improper to land the main body there, and proceeded to a creek called Cas Navires, where the whole forces were disembarked on the 16th, without the loss of a man, the fleet having been stationed so properly, and directing their fire with such effect, that the enemy was obliged in a short time, to abandon the batteries erected to defend this inlet.

When the landing was effected, the difficulties were far from being at an end. The inhabitants of Martinico seemed determined to defend the island to the last extremity. Every pass was guarded and fortified. The detachment which had first landed, were attacked in the night by a body of grenadiers, freebooters, negroes, and mulattoes; but these met with so warm a reception, that they were compelled, after sustaining considerable loss, to retire with precipitation.

The general determined to attack the town and citadel of Fort Royal, although his march thither was incumbered with difficulties and dangers, there being many ravines and gullies, very deep, and difficult of access, well covered with batteries and redoubts, and defended by the slaves as well as natives in arms. Besides the difficulties of the approach, the town and citadel are overlooked, and commanded by two very considerable eminences, called Morne Tortueson and Morne Garnier. Whilst the enemy kept possession of these, it was impossible to attack the town. They

were protected like the other high grounds in this island, by natural ravines, strengthened by every contrivance of art. The Morne Tortueson was first to be attacked. To favour this operation, a body of regular troops and marines were ordered to advance on the right, along the sea-side, towards the town, in order to take the redoubts, which lay in the lower grounds. A thousand sailors in flat-bottomed boats rowed close to the shore, to assist them. On the left, towards the country, a corps of light infantry, properly supported, was to get round the enemy's left, whilst the attack in the centre was made by the British grenadiers, and the main body of the army, under the fire of batteries which had been erected on the opposite side with great labour and perseverance, the cannon having been dragged upwards of three miles by the seamen, across the enemy's line of fire, to which they exposed themselves with amazing indifference.

The attack, which was planned with so much judgment, was executed with equal spirit and resolution. The British troops succeeded in every quarter. The enemy were successively driven from post to post; some fled into the town; others mounted to Morne Garnier; while the English standard was displayed at Morne Tortueson. But nothing decisive could be effected against the town, until the French were driven from the former eminence. It was three days before proper dispositions could be made for this purpose. During this interval, the enemy's whole force sallied out of the town, or descended from the hill, and attacked the English in their advanced posts. But they were repelled with singular bravery; and the ardour of the British troops hurrying them forward, they improved a defensive advantage into an attack, passed the ravines, mingled with the enemy, scaled the hill, seized the batteries, and posted themselves on the summit of Morne Garnier.

All the situations which commanded the town and citadel were now secured, and the English, in the

morning of the 28th, began to play their artillery; which the governor no sooner observed, than he ordered the chamade to be beat, and surrendered the place by capitulation. On the 4th of February, the gates were delivered up to the English; and next morning the garrison, to the number of eight hundred, marched out with the honours of war. On the 7th, Pigeon Island, which was strongly fortified, and reckoned one of the best defences of the harbour, surrendered at the first summons, and obtained a capitulation similar to that of the citadel. Deputations were sent from different quarters of the island, by the inhabitants, desiring the same terms. But the governor-general, M. De la Touche, retired with his forces to St. Pierre, the capital, which he meant to defend with uncommon vigour. It is probable, however, that when he arrived there, his opinion was altered by the advice of the inhabitants. They saw the English masters of all the rest of the island; they reflected on the favourable capitulation which the Island of Guadaloupe had obtained, and the good faith with which the terms of this capitulation had been observed. Although they changed masters, they changed neither laws nor religion; their property was more secure than under the ancient government; their commerce more free and unrestrained; and they were furnished with all necessaries from the dominions of Great Britain; whereas formerly they depended for subsistence upon the most precarious and hazardous methods of supply. These considerations had great weight with the inhabitants of St. Pierre, who persuaded the governor to send two deputies, with proposals of capitulation. On the 14th, the terms were settled, and the agreement signed. On the 16th, the English commander took possession of St. Pierre, and all the posts in that neighbourhood, while the governor-general, the lieutenant-governor, the staff-officers, and about three hundred and twenty grenadiers, were embarked in transports, to be con-

veyed to France. These signal successes were obtained at the small expense of four hundred men, including a few officers killed and wounded in the different attacks. Fourteen French privateers were found in the harbour of Port Royal, and a much greater number from other parts of the island, were delivered up to Admiral Rodney, in consequence of the capitulation with the inhabitants, who, in all other respects, were very favourably treated. [Appendix, No. III.]

The surrender of Martinico, which was the seat of government, the principal mart of trade, and the centre of all the French force in the Caribbees, naturally drew on the surrender of all the dependent islands. While General Monkton was regulating the capitulation of St. Pierre, Commodore Swanton sailed with a small squadron to the fertile Island of Granada, which was given up without opposition. St. Lucia and St. Vincent, the right to which had so long been disputed between the two nations, followed its example. By these acquisitions, the English colonies at Antigua, St. Christopher's, and Nevis, as well as the ships trading to these islands, were secured against the hostilities of the enemy; the commerce of Great Britain acquired an annual addition to the amount of at least a million sterling, and the British nation became undisturbed possessors of that chain of innumerable islands, which forms an immense bow, extending from the eastern point of Hispaniola almost to the continent of South America.

The consequences of this important conquest were still more important than the conquest itself. It opened a way for humbling effectually the pride of Spain. In the course of a few months, more decisive strokes were struck against that haughty monarchy, than during ten years of the former Spanish war. In that war, Great Britain acquired wealth and honour; but in this she displayed such a scene of national glory, as Europe had never before beheld. As these

events, however, did not immediately follow upon the reduction of Martinico, it is proper here to pause, and to contemplate the effects of that formidable alliance concluded in the year 1761, among the different members of the house of Bourbon.

The kings of France and Spain imagined they had acquired such an ascendancy over all their neighbours, by forming this league, that they might henceforth neglect with impunity the observance of those rules which the most ambitious and despotic princes commonly prescribe to themselves in the execution of their boldest designs. This evidently appeared in their conduct towards Portugal, the ancient and natural ally of Great Britain. Portugal possessed gold, without possessing industry or ingenuity. England furnished the Portuguese with all the conveniences of life, and received specie in return. The balance of trade was supposed to bring annually into Great Britain about a million sterling. This commercial connection was strengthened by the strongest political ties. The two kingdoms were so situated, that they had little to fear from one another, while they might mutually impart many reciprocal advantages. The harbours of Portugal afforded protection as well as supplies to the English fleet, while the English fleet defended the lucrative commerce of the Portuguese with their American colonies. The natural and inveterate antipathy between Spain and Portugal, made it necessary for the latter to look out for some powerful distant ally. None is so advantageous in that view as England, which in her turn might derive great advantages from Portugal, in prosecuting a war against any of the southern powers of Europe.

The united monarchs, unwilling to trust the issue of the war to hostilities committed against England on her own element, determined to wound her through the sides of this ally. They were strongly invited to this measure by the present unhappy cir-

cumstances of Portugal. That kingdom was altogether unprovided in the means of defence. The military spirit, by which the Portuguese had formerly distinguished themselves, was totally extinct. The nobles were overwhelmed in ignorance, bigotry, and oppression spiritual as well as temporal. There was neither skill, discipline, nor order among the troops, nor indeed any appearance of a regular army; and the frontier places were ill fortified, worse garrisoned, and almost entirely destitute of ammunition and artillery. In this condition, Portugal received a fatal blow from an earthquake in 1756. The wealthy and flourishing city of Lisbon was levelled with the ground, nearly thirty thousand of the inhabitants were buried in her ruins, and those who remained with the court itself, were reduced to the utmost distress and misery. As if this earthquake, which had overturned their capital, had also shaken and distracted the frame of their government, and the temper of their minds, the most dreadful distempers broke out in the state. A series of horrid crimes and cruel punishments succeeded to this national calamity. Two of the most noble and wealthy families of Portugal, having engaged themselves in an attempt on the life of their sovereign, were cut off at once, with little distinction of age or sex, by a bloody and dreadful exertion of tyranny, falsely called justice. Many others, who were accused or suspected, suffered death, or exile, or imprisonment. Among these, and partly from the same causes, one of the most considerable religious orders for wealth, influence, and policy, was stripped of its possessions, and entirely driven out of the country.

This being the unfortunate situation of Portugal, the house of Bourbon hoped that the kingdom would be an easy conquest, notwithstanding all the succours it could possibly receive; which would not only be a great loss to the commerce of Great Britain, and a considerable inconvenience to her in carrying on the

war, but would afford a valuable deposit, to be exchanged at the peace, for the farther acquisitions that England might make at the expence of France or Spain. Full of these ideas, his Catholic Majesty gave orders for providing magazines and artillery, and for strengthening his fortified places on the side of Portugal. The Spanish army, supplied with able engineers from France, overspread the Portuguese frontiers; the commerce of corn between the two kingdoms was prohibited, and every thing threatened a sudden invasion. In the midst of these hostile preparations the French and Spanish ministers presented a joint memorial to the court of Lisbon, the purport of which was, to persuade his Most Faithful Majesty to desert his ancient alliance, and to co-operate with the two crowns against Great Britain. The memorial insisted largely on the tyranny which Great Britain exerted upon all powers, especially the maritime; and upon Portugal among the rest; on the particular insult which had been offered to her jurisdiction by Admiral Boscawen's attack on M. De la Clue's squadron in a Portuguese harbour. The memorial concluded with a declaration, that as soon as his Most Faithful Majesty had taken his resolution, which they doubted not would be favourable, that the king of Spain would march his troops into Portugal, in order to garrison the harbours and defend them against the hostile attempts of the English. An answer was required in four days, and any delay beyond that time was to be considered as a negative.

Such insolent proposals were never made to an independent kingdom. His Portuguese Majesty answered in a moderate and humble strain, but with becoming firmness. He took notice of the misfortunes of his country, which prevented her from taking part in an offensive war; he offered his mediation between the contending parties; but was resolved at all events to preserve his faith to England inviolate; which ought not, he observed, to give the smallest

offence, as his alliance with that crown was ancient and merely defensive. This answer drew on a reply, in which the ministers of the united kingdoms denied that the alliance between England and Portugal was purely defensive, and for this unheard-of reason, "that the defensive alliance was converted into an offensive one by the situation of the Portuguese dominions, and the nature of the English power. The English squadrons," said they, "cannot in all seasons keep the sea, nor cruise on the principal coasts for cutting off the French and Spanish navigation, without the ports and the assistance of Portugal; that these islanders could not insult all maritime Europe, if the whole riches of Portugal did not pass into their hands; which furnishes them with the means to make war, and renders the alliance between the two courts truly and properly offensive." They conclude most insultingly, "That the king of Portugal ought to be glad of the necessity which they laid upon him to make use of his reason, in order to take the road of his glory and of the common interest." The king replied with sufficient spirit; the two ministers took leave and retired the 27th of April; and immediately after, war was declared by France and Spain against Portugal.

The advantages which Portugal possessed in herself for balancing this powerful combination, consisted principally in the nature of the country, which is so extremely barren and uncultivated as to make it very difficult for any considerable army to subsist in it. The badness of the roads, and the frequency and steepness of the mountains, made it no less difficult to advance by rapid marches, and to improve the advantages of the campaign with proper expedition. Add to this, that towards the frontiers of Spain the only roads are narrow and difficult defiles, which may be maintained by a small body of forces against a very powerful invasion. But notwithstanding these circumstances, the whole hopes of Portugal centered in

the assistance from England. The greater her own weakness, the more conspicuous were the magnanimity and resources of Great Britain, who, at the close of so expensive and ruinous a war, made such astonishing efforts in protecting her allies. She sent a squadron of ten ships of the line to Lisbon, besides frigates. With these she sent officers, troops, artillery, military stores, provisions and money; every thing that could enable the Portuguese to exert their natural strength, and every thing which could supply that strength where it was deficient.

The Spaniards could entertain no hopes of depriving the English of the us of the Portuguese ports by attacking them by sea; so that they reposed their whole confidence in the bravery and good fortune of their troops. It belongs not to our design to give a particular account of the military operations in this effeminate country, which could hardly furnish out a faint image of war. The inaccessible and difficult nature of the country, joined to the spirit and activity of the British troops, were sufficient to defend the Portuguese dominions with very feeble efforts on the part of the natives. After a campaign of above five months the Spaniards had got possession of no advanced posts in which they could maintain themselves during the winter. The heavy rains, which begin to fall in October, and the want of provisions for men and horse in an enemy's country, made them fall back to the frontiers of Spain, where every thing had been provided for them in great abundance.

Thus did the arms of Great Britain save Portugal, by undertaking to defend her cause within her own territories. The same power protected this useful ally not only against present but future dangers, by the operations carried on in remote parts of the earth, where the success of the British squadrons compelled the house of Bourbon to accept terms of accommodation, in which the interests of Portugal were not neglected.

While the English troops were employed in taking possession of Martinico and the dependent islands, a French fleet appeared to windward of the former, and sent an officer on shore to obtain information. They continued cruising to windward for two days, and even approached within cannon-shot of Trinity, as if they had intended to make a descent; but afterwards they changed their course, and bore away for the harbours of Dominica. Admiral Rodney being informed of their arrival in those parts, got under sail with his squadron, and beat up to windward in quest of the enemy; they did not wait his approach, but made haste to take refuge in their own harbours. While Rodney's fleet commanded the Caribbees, Lord Colville's squadron was stationed at Halifax in Nova Scotia, in order to protect the coast of North America, and the new conquests in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence. Sir Charles Saunders was reinforced in such a manner as enabled him to give law in the Mediterranean, and either to prevent a junction of the French and Spanish fleets, or if that should be found impracticable, to give them battle when joined. For the defence of the British coast, and in order to answer the emergencies of war, a powerful squadron was kept in readiness at Spithead; another rode at anchor in the Downs, under the command of Admiral Moore; and from these two were occasionally detached into the channel, and all round the island, a number of light cruisers, which acted with such vigilance and activity, that not a ship could venture from any of the French sea-ports without running the most imminent risk of being taken; and scarcely a day passed in which some privateer of the enemy, either French or Spanish, was not brought into the harbours of Great Britain. Rear-admiral Cornish had the direction of the fleet in the East Indies, Admiral Pocock who had acquired so much glory there, being called to a more dangerous and important command, the consequences of which we are now going to re-

late. The whole of these squadrons, combined with detached cruisers in different parts, amounted to more than two hundred and forty ships of war; a force which, considering the disciplined valour and naval experience of our seamen, was fit to contend against the maritime strength of the whole world united.

The rupture with Spain, which was rendered incurable by the invasion of Portugal, brought on the execution of a plan which had been long in agitation, upon the presumed probability of such an event. It is said that Admiral Knowles was the first who laid before his royal highness the duke of Cumberland a scheme for the reduction of the island of Cuba, in which the whole trade and navigation of the Spanish West India centers, and without which it cannot be carried on. The duke approved the plan, and recommended it to the ministry. But after they had considered the draughts and plan, which his royal highness put into their hands, Lord Anson, the first Lord of the Admiralty, produced his own, which had been made out upon more accurate information; and after maturely considering both plans, Lord Anson's was adopted. However, the duke of Cumberland had so much merit in this affair, that he was permitted to appoint his favourite Lord Albemarle commander in chief of the land forces, and his brothers, Major-general and Commodore Keppel, to important commands in an expedition which, it was imagined, would be equally lucrative and honourable.

Nothing indeed could be so proper at this time as an attempt against the Spanish West Indies. The French were now expelled from every place in North America, except their settlement of Louisiana, which was deemed of little importance. They had lost their West India islands; so that hardly any thing remained to be done in that part of the world but an expedition against those of Spain. But it shewed great wisdom in the British administration, who de-

termined on this measure, that they fixed their eyes at once on the capital object. The failure of an armament in a subordinate attempt is a bad preparative for a greater; as the former, even though successful, is far from being decisive. The plan of the war of 1740, in which we began with smaller attempts, and so proceeded to more considerable, was mean and ignoble, because the success in the first of those attempts did nothing to insure success in the second; nor were both together of any consequence in deciding the fortune of the war. But the plan now adopted was great and just; for by beginning with the Havannah we aspired at a conquest, which being obtained, would enable us to terminate the war with honour, as it entirely intercepted the enemy's resources; and if we chose to prosecute our advantage, the acquisition of the Havannah might put us in possession of the whole Spanish America.

The fleet destined to extend the British empire in the west, sailed from Portsmouth the 5th of March, under the command of Admiral Pocock, whose valour and conduct had contributed so much towards that sovereignty which his country possessed in the East Indies. They sailed for the island of Hispaniola, where they were happily met at Cape Nicholas, the north-west point of the island, by a detachment from the fleet at the Caribbees, under the command of that gallant and able officer Sir James Douglas. The junction happened on the 27th of May; and the united squadrons consisted of nineteen sail of the line, eighteen smaller ships of war, and about one hundred and fifty transports, having on board above ten thousand land-forces and marines. A supply of four thousand men had been ordered from New York, which, it was supposed, would arrive time enough to bear part in their military operations.

There were two choices before the admiral for his course to the Havannah. The first and most obvious was the common way, to keep to the south of Cuba,

and fall into the tract of the galleons. But this, though by much the safest, would prove by far the most tedious passage; and delays, above all things, were dangerous, as the fleet had been so late in sailing from England, that it would be extremely difficult to arrive before the hurricane season, which would put an end to all naval and military operations. He therefore resolved to run along the northern shore of the island of Cuba, pursuing his course from east to west, through a narrow passage not less than seven hundred miles in length, called the Old Straits of Bahama. This passage, through almost the whole of its extent, is bounded, on the right and left, by the most dangerous sands and shoals, which has caused the navigation to be avoided by single and small vessels. There was no pilot in the fleet whose experience could be depended on to conduct them safely through it. The admiral, however, being provided with a good chart of Lord Anson's, resolved to trust to his own vigilance and sagacity to carry through those straits a fleet of near two hundred sail. So bold an attempt had never been before made; but the success of the expedition depending entirely on dispatch, made it prudent to hazard it. At the same time no precaution was omitted, which could remove the imputation of temerity. A vessel was sent to reconnoitre the passage, and make soundings: some frigates followed: sloops and boats were stationed on the right and left, on the shallows, with well-adapted signals both for the day and the night. The fleet moved in seven divisions, and being favoured with a fair wind and good weather, got through this perilous passage on the 5th of June without accident or interruption.

Two days before the accomplishment of this hazardous navigation, the Echo and Alarm frigates, which had been ordered a-head of the fleet, descried four vessels which proved to be the Thetis, a Spanish frigate of eighteen guns and sixty-five men, and the

Phœnix of twenty-two guns, and one hundred and seventy-five men, and two brigs, bound to Suga in the straits, for a cargo of timber for the use of the ships at the Havannah. The English frigates gave them chace, and obliged them to strike in three quarters of an hour. This, though a small success, was an auspicious beginning of the expedition against the Havannah. This place, the object of their long voyage and of so many anxious hopes and fears, was now before them. Though St. Jago, situated on the south-east side of the island, be denominated the capital of Cuba, yet the Havannah is superior to it in wealth, size, and importance. The harbour upon which it stands is, in every respect, one of the best in the world. It is entered by a narrow passage, upwards of half a mile in length, which afterwards expands into a large bason, sufficient to contain one thousand sail of the largest ships, having almost throughout six fathoms water, and perfectly secured from every wind. In this bay the rich fleets from the several parts of the Spanish West Indies assemble, in order to set out together on their voyage to Europe. Great care had been taken to fortify a place which, besides being extremely populous, wealthy, and flourishing in itself, is the centre of the richest commerce of the world. The entrance into the harbour is secured on one side by the Moro fort, built upon a projecting point of land, all of solid mason-work, having a ditch seventy feet deep from the edge of the counterscarp, and more than forty feet of that depth sunk in the rock: on the other it is defended by a fort called the Puntal, which joins the town. The Havannah itself, which is situated to the west of the harbour, and opposite to the Moro fort, is surrounded by a good rampart, flanked with bastions, and strengthened by a ditch.

The Spaniards, sensible that, upon a rupture with Great Britain, their West Indies were the fairest mark for the attack of the enemy, maintained a

powerful fleet in those parts, and had actually a considerable squadron of ships of the line in the harbour of the Havannah. But so little confidence did they repose in their shipping for resisting the efforts of the English armament, that the only use which they made of it was to sink three of their largest vessels behind an immense boom which they had thrown across the mouth of the harbour. Their chief hope was in the strength of the place, and the difficulties attending all military operations which are drawn out to any considerable length in this unhealthy climate. These circumstances encouraged Don Juan De Prado, governor of the Havannah, to determine on a vigorous defence. He was assisted by the activity of the Marquis Del Real, commodore of the fleet, and by the counsels and experience of the viceroy of Peru, and the governor of Carthagena, who happened to be then in the place, on their way to their respective governments.

On the 7th of June, all things were in readiness for landing; and, in order to effect this with the least inconvenience, the admiral, with the greatest part of the fleet, bore away to the westward, that the enemy's attention might be drawn towards this quarter, while the earl of Albemarle and the whole army were landed under the direction of Commodore Keppel, between the rivers Bocanao and Coxemar, about six miles to the eastward of the Moro-Castle. A body of Spaniards appeared on the shore; but, some sloops being ordered to scour the beach and the woods with their cannon, the troops passed the river Coxemar in great order, without the smallest opposition. The first attempt was to drive the enemy from a small redoubt on the top of the hill Cevannos which overlooked the Moro. This was effected on the 10th, and at the same time three bomb-ketches, being anchored on shore, began to throw shells into the town, under cover of the ships Stirling-Castle and Echo.

The principal body of the army, destined to act

against the Moro, was divided into two corps, one of which, commanded by General Elliot, advanced a considerable way into the country, towards the south-east of the harbour, in order to cover the siege, and to secure the parties employed in watering and procuring provisions. The other, conducted by General Keppel, was immediately employed in the attack on the fort, and a detachment headed by Colonel Howe, was encamped to the westward of the town, partly with a view to cut off the communication between it and the country, and partly to make a diversion in favour of the grand operation.

The seamen having landed fascines, stores, and artillery with great expedition, the engineers, under the direction of Mr. Mackellar, whose abilities were equally distinguished at Louisbourg and the Havannah, began to erect batteries of bombs and cannon, while a body of pioneers were employed in cutting parallels, and forming a line with fascines to secure the troops from the fire of the enemy. The hardships sustained in this service are almost inexpressible. The thinness of the earth made it extremely difficult to cover the approaches. It was necessary to cut roads for communication through thick woods. The artillery was to be dragged a great way over a rough rocky shore. During this fatigue the supplies of provision were not plentiful, and water was to be brought from a great distance. Many men dropped down dead with heat, thirst, and fatigue. But the spirit and ardour of the troops, the unanimity and conduct of the commanders by sea and land, overcame every difficulty. On the 29th, two thousand chosen Spaniards, with a numerous body of negroes and mulattoes landed in two divisions, to the right and left of the Moro, with an intention to destroy the works of the besiegers. They were repulsed, by the piquets and advanced posts, with great bravery, and compelled to retreat in confusion, leaving behind them two hundred of their number killed or taken.

The cannonading began, on the 1st of July, from two batteries bearing twelve cannon, six large mortars, three small ones, and twenty-six royals. The enemy had seventeen pieces of artillery on the front attacked. The fire was for a considerable time pretty nearly on an equality, and kept up with great vivacity on both sides. At length that of the enemy began to fail. Their attention was divided in consequence of an attack made upon the north-east face by three ships of the line, the Cambridge, Dragon, and Marlborough, commanded by the Captains Goostrey, Hervey, and Barnet. These ships, having laid their broadsides against the fort, kept up one of the warmest firings ever seen, for seven hours, without intermission. But the Moro, situated upon a high hill, had great advantages, and the fire from the opposite fort of Puntal galled them exceedingly. They were obliged to retire in a very shattered condition, after losing above one hundred men, among whom was Captain Goostrey of the Marlborough, a brave and experienced officer.

When the Spaniards were released from the fire of the ships, they redoubled their activity against the batteries, and on both sides a constant unremitted fire was kept up for several days. During this sharp and doubtful contention, the merlons of the grand battery unfortunately took fire on the third of July. The flames became too powerful for opposition, and the labour of six hundred men, for seventeen days, was destroyed in a few hours. This stroke was felt the more severely, because the other hardships of the siege were become scarcely supportable. Sickness had reduced the army to almost half its number. Three thousand seamen were at one time unfit for service, and nearly double that number of soldiers. The scarcity of water, and the total want of wholesome provisions, exasperated the disease. The army was ready to perish by these calamities; and, if the hurricane season came on before the place

were reduced, the destruction of the fleet was inevitable.

The unconquered spirit of the commanders could hardly maintain the languishing activity of the troops, when Sir James Douglas who had parted from the admiral, in order to steer his course for Jamaica, arrived with the fleet from that island, carrying many conveniencies for the siege. This favourable circumstance, with the hopes of a considerable reinforcement from New York, which arrived a few days afterwards, restored the vigour of the men, and roused them to every effort. New batteries arose in the place of the old, the fire of which soon became equal, and afterwards superior to that of the enemy; the cannon of the fort was silenced, the upper-works demolished, and a lodgment at length made in the covered way. Notwithstanding this advantage, the immense ditch cut in the solid rock formed an obstacle that was very difficult to surmount. To fill it up was impossible, and the work of mining would have been impracticable, if fortunately a thin ridge of rock had not been left to cover the extremity of the ditch, which would otherwise have been open to the sea. On this narrow ridge the miners passed wholly uncovered, and with very little loss made a lodgement at the foot of the wall. While they formed a mine for throwing the counterscarp into the ditch, another sap was carried on along the glacis. In the night of the 21st, a sergeant and twelve men scaled the wall by surprise; but, the garrison being alarmed before any additional troops could sustain them, they were obliged to retreat.

The governor of the Moro now plainly saw, that the place must be speedily reduced, unless some bold measure were tried for its immediate relief. Accordingly, next day at four in the morning, he ordered a sally to be made from the town by fifteen hundred men, composed chiefly of the country militia and negroes, divided into three detachments, who at-

tacked the besiegers in as many different places. Meanwhile a warm fire was kept up from the fort of Puntal, and the shipping in the harbour. But the English guards, though surprised, defended themselves with great resolution, the posts attacked were speedily reinforced, and the enemy were driven precipitately down the hill without being able to destroy any part of our approaches. The English lost fifty men killed or wounded, and the Spaniards had four hundred killed or taken prisoners.

On the 30th of the month, about two in the morning, a floating battery was towed into the harbour, and fired with grape-shot and small-arms into the ditch, though without any great interruption to the miners; and the close fire of the covering-party soon compelled the enemy to retire. This was the last effort for the relief of the Moro: for on that day the mines did their work. A part of the wall was blown up, and fell into the ditch, leaving a breach which, though very narrow and difficult, the engineer judged practicable. Orders were immediately given for the assault. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart commanded the attack. The troops hoping to see an end of all their hardships, entered on this most dangerous service with the greatest resolution. The enemy drawn up to receive them, when they had passed the breach, were terrified at the determined valour which appeared in their countenances, and fled on all sides. In vain Don Lewis De Velasco the governor, whose bravery and conduct had excited during the whole siege the admiration of his enemies, endeavoured, with romantic courage, to defend the colours of Spain. He fell, as well as his second the Marquis Gonsales, while attempting to no purpose to rally his troops. About four hundred of the garrison laid down their arms, and were made prisoners: as many were slaughtered on the spot; others ran to the boats, and were drowned in attempting to escape to the town.

The Moro-fort thus came into the possession of the English after a vigorous struggle of forty days from the commencement of the operations against it. This advantage was not immediately followed by the surrender of the Havannah. The governor seemed still determined to defend that place, the fire of which was immediately turned against the fortress which had been lost, while a ship of the line was sent down into the harbour, in order to batter it with more effect. Meanwhile Lord Albemarle ordered a line of batteries to be erected along the hill of the Cevannos, which commanded almost the whole eastern side of the city. Batteries were likewise erected on the western side of the town, which had hitherto been only guarded. When these preparations were perfectly ready to take effect, his lordship, by message, represented to the governor the irresistible force of the attack which he was ready to make on the place, but which, in order to prevent unnecessary effusion of blood, he was willing to suspend, that the Spaniards might have time to capitulate. This representation was made on the 10th of August, but to no purpose, the governor returning for answer, that he was determined to defend the place, committed to him, to the last extremity. Next morning at day-break, forty-five cannon and eight mortars, erected on the batteries at Cevannos, began to play against the town and the Puntal with such continued and irresistible fury, that this fortress was silenced before ten. In another hour the north bastion was almost disabled. About two in the afternoon white flags were displayed from every quarter of the town, and, a little time after, a flag of truce arrived at the head-quarters with proposals of capitulation. The established religion and the ancient laws were to be preserved, and private property was secured to the inhabitants. The garrison, which was reduced to seven hundred men, were to have the honours of war, and to be conveyed to Old Spain,

together with the Spanish commodore, the governor of the Havannah, the viceroy of Peru, and the governor of Carthagena. The Spaniards struggled hard to save twelve ships of the line which lay in the harbour; but this was a capital point, and wholly inadmissible. They likewise made powerful attempts to have the harbour declared neutral during the war; but this would have destroyed, in a great measure, the importance of the conquest. It was debated for two days, when hostilities were on the point of being renewed; which made the enemy recede from their demand; and the English took possession of the place the 14th of August. [Appendix No. IV.]

The acquisition of the Havannah united in itself all the advantages that can be obtained in war. The enemy lost a whole fleet; they were deprived of a wealthy establishment, commanding a rich and extensive territory; and they ceded a port which commanded the only passage by which their ships could conveniently sail from the Bay of Mexico to Europe. While this port is in the hands of an enemy, who are masters at sea, the court of Madrid can receive no supplies of treasure from the West Indies, except by beating up to windward from Carthagena, which would expose them to infinite trouble as well as danger, from the English squadrons, or by surrounding Cape Horn, or passing through the Straits of Magellan from the South Sea, a voyage of intolerable length, and subject to equal inconveniencies. The reduction of the Havannah, while it distressed the enemy in the most essential manner by stopping the sources of their wealth, opened an easy avenue to the conquerors for reaching their American treasures. In no former war had Great Britain acquired such immense sums at the expence of her enemies. Her success in the East Indies, is said to have brought into England nearly six millions since the commencement of hostilities; and, in the conquest now made, she obtained, besides an immense quantity of artillery, small arms,

ammunition, and warlike stores, about three millions sterling in silver, tobacco, and valuable merchandise, collected, on account of the king of Spain, in the magazines of the Havannah. In this calculation of national profit, we must not omit the capture of the Hermioné, a register ship, the value of which fell little short of a million sterling. If it had not been for these extraordinary pecuniary supplies, with which the war was attended, it would have been difficult to carry it on to such an amazing extent. The money which was brought into the kingdom invigorated commerce, and urged the hand of industry. The remittances for foreign subsidies were, in a great measure, paid by bills on merchants settled abroad, who had received the value of these draughts in the produce of British manufactures. The trade of England increased gradually every year, and such a scene of national prosperity, during the course of a long, expensive, and bloody war, was never exhibited by any people in the world.

In the expedition against the Havannah, the spirit, unanimity, and perseverance of the army and navy were eminently conspicuous. Never indeed was there a period of such cordial co-operation between the land and sea forces, or such a punctual attention to orders. One captain only, of the name of Campbell, having neglected to perform his duty in leading the squadron which attacked the Moro, was obliged to quit the service.

As it is our plan to give an account of the more important enterprises, which succeeded through the co-operation of the navy, before we proceed to relate the exploits purely naval, which distinguished the year 1762, we must now carry the reader's attention to the expedition against the Philippine islands, which is one of the best-conducted, most splendid, and most important of all the successes which adorn the annals of this glorious war. The design of this expedition, which, if successful, would give as severe a wound to

the interests of Spain in the East Indies, as she had received by the taking of the Havannah, on the side of America, was suggested by the following accident. After the memorable defence of Madras, in 1759, Colonel Draper's bad state of health obliged him to leave that country. He embarked in company with the honourable Captain Howe, then commander of the Winchelsea, for Canton in China, a place with which the inhabitants of the Philippines carry on a considerable traffic. Here the colonel employed himself in acquiring a minute knowledge of the present state of the Spaniards in these islands, and discovered that, confiding in their remote distance from Europe, they were persuaded, that no attempt against them would ever be deemed practicable. This had lulled them into such a perfect security, that they had totally neglected the keeping up of a regular military force for their own defence.

Colonel Draper communicated his ideas on this subject to Lord Anson, and Lord Egremont, upon the first rumours of a war with Spain. His information met with that attention which it deserved. He was desired to give a memorial in writing, explaining his plan at full length, and assured, that, if a Spanish war became unavoidable, the undertaking should be recommended to his Majesty.

The motives to the execution of this enterprise were many and powerful. The Philippines or Manillas form a principal division of that immense Indian Archipelago, which consists of above twelve hundred islands, extending from the nineteenth degree of north latitude, almost in a continued chain, to the shores of New Guinea, and the great southern continent. The Philippines, which form the northernmost cluster of these islands, are, some of them, among the largest, and all of them, naturally, among the richest islands in the world. They were added to the Spanish monarchy, in its meridian glory, under Philip II. and, being happily situated for commerce, they were used as the

centre of communication for the Asiatic and American trade. They may receive European goods by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, and connecting the traffic of China, Japan, and the Spice Islands, with that of Europe and America, unite all the extensive dominions of Spain in one commercial chain with the richest countries upon earth.

The principal island of the Philippines is called Manilla or Luconia, extending three hundred miles in length, and ninety at a medium, in breadth. The soil is cultivated by the natives with uncommon industry for this part of the world: the Chinese, who, after the Tartar conquest in the last century, fled here in great numbers, are the artizans, and the Spaniards enjoy the government, and best part of the commerce. The rest of the Philippine islands, as far as the Spanish power prevails in them, are under the government of Luconia, the capital of which is Manilla, situated on the south-east of the island, and lying upon a very fair and spacious harbour. Here the large vessels or galleons annually arrive, and from this place they sail for Acapulco in America, loaded with money or goods to the value of nearly a million sterling. In the war of 1739, the taking one of these galleons was considered as the most brilliant success which attended the British squadrons. But now they were to aim at an higher object: not at a particular cargo, but at the principal mart of commerce which supplied this cargo; and which, when put in our possession, would enable us to destroy the intercourse of any other European state with the empires of China and Japan, while it procured the highest respect for the British flag all over those wealthy and extensive regions.

The grandeur of this design, was sufficient to rouse the most vigorous efforts of administration. But the additional weight of Spain, in the scale of the enemies of Great Britain, required all the exertions of her strength nearer home. It was impossible, therefore,

to spare ships or troops for undertaking a conquest so distant and precarious, however advantageous and splendid. But, fortunately, the preceding events of this glorious war naturally paved the way for those which were to follow. The success of one expedition not only suggested the idea but facilitated the execution of another. By the fortune of our arms in the east, we were become arbiters of the great peninsula of India; the French were expelled; the Dutch humbled; and there was nothing in those parts to resist the British force, or even to afford employment to all the troops that were kept on foot. Nothing, therefore, was demanded from Great Britain, but a light frigate to carry Colonel Draper to Madras, where alone suitable preparations might be made for this important enterprise. He arrived there the latter end of June, 1762, and was appointed brigadier-general, and commander-in-chief of the land forces to be employed in the expedition. The squadron, commanded by Vice-admiral Cornish, a brave and able officer, consisted of several ships of the line, besides frigates. The troops allotted for this expedition, consisted of one regiment, with a company of the royal artillery, reinforced with six hundred seapoys, one company of Caffres, one of Topazes, one of pioneers, with several hundreds of unarmed Lascars, for the use of the engineers, and the park of artillery. The admiral supplied a fine battalion of five hundred and fifty seamen, and two hundred and seventy marines. The whole force amounted to no more than two thousand three hundred effective men; an inconsiderable number, but of tried valour, inured to toil and hardship, and rendered equal, by their disciplined bravery, to the strength of a great army. The seventy-ninth regiment, which was the only regular body of troops employed on this service, had been the first who checked the progress of the French in India; their valour had given the happy turn to the war under Colonel Coote: they were inured to

the climate, and accustomed to victory; and their arms were worthy to extend the glory of Great Britain to the remotest verge of Asia.

The enterprise was no sooner resolved upon, than the admiral detached Captain Grant of the Seahorse to the entrance of the Chinese sea, with instructions to intercept all vessels bound for Manilla, that the enemy, who were even ignorant of the declaration of war, might receive no intelligence of any design formed against them. The success of the enterprise depended much on expedition, not only in order to prevent the enemy from being roused from their security, but in order to take advantage of the wind; for if the north-west Monsoon should set in with any violence before the fleet were well advanced on their voyage, the whole design would be defeated. Accordingly no time was lost. In the space of three weeks, the troops were embodied and formed, and the stores got ready and shipped, notwithstanding a raging and perpetual surf, which, in those climates, is one of the greatest difficulties in any expedition, greatly embarrassing the embarkation and rendering still more hazardous the debarkation of troops, especially in the face of an enemy.

The fleet sailed in two divisions the beginning of August, and on the 19th arrived at Malacca; a place formerly considered as the key of the Indian commerce, and still the centre of a very considerable trade. The Dutch, to whom it belonged, although they looked with no very favourable eye on the progress of the English in those eastern regions, were afraid to discover any symptom of jealousy. The English fleet used Malacca as a port of their own, and supplied themselves not only with refreshments, but with every necessary not already provided for the siege of Manilla. They came from Malacca in sight of Luconia in thirty-nine days, the weather having, in general, proved favourable, although the squadron was once separated in a storm.

The next in command to the vice-admiral was Commodore Tiddeman; and the battalion of seamen and marines was under the Captains Collins, Pitchford, and Ourry, who behaved during the whole service with equal gallantry and conduct. The officers subordinate to Brigadier-general Draper, were the Lieutenant-colonels Monson and Scott, Major Barker, who commanded the artillery, and Major Moore. Mr. Drake, and some other gentlemen in the East India Company's service, were appointed to take care of the interests of their constituents, according to a convention made with the president and council of Madras, by which the East India Company were to have a third part of the booty or ransom, and to be invested with the government of the conquered country. The land and sea forces agreed by common consent to participate in the distribution of their several captures, according to the rules established in the navy. The character of the commanders, as well as these wise precautions, prevented the least disagreement from arising between the army and marine, either in the conduct of the enterprise, or in the division of the fruits of their success.

The admiral having sounded the coast, discovered a convenient place for landing the troops, about two miles to the southward of Manilla. On the 24th of September, the proper dispositions being made, and the three frigates, Argo, Seahorse, and Seaford, moored very near the shore to cover the descent; three divisions of the forces were put on board the boats of the fleet, conducted by the Captains Parker, Kempenfeldt, and Brereton, and landed at the church and village of Malata. This was not performed without great difficulty, on account of a violent surf, which dashed many of the boats to pieces. At the same time, the enemy began to assemble in great numbers, both horse and infantry, to oppose the descent, but the Captains King, Grant, and Peighin, who commanded the covering frigates, maintained such a warm fire of

cannon to the right and left, that they soon dispersed, and the general disembarked his troops without the loss of a single man. The days which immediately succeeded their landing were spent in seizing the most advantageous posts, in securing the communication with the navy, and in reconnoitering the roads and approaches to the town. They found it defended by some good works, constructed in a regular manner, and garrisoned by about eight hundred Spanish troops. The English forces were too few to invest the place, so as to prevent it from being supplied with provisions from the country, or from receiving assistance from the natives, a fierce and daring people, who, though unacquainted with the use of firearms and the regular discipline of war, were like all the inhabitants of the Indian isles, extremely formidable on account of their martial spirit, native intrepidity, and contempt of death. The governor of the place was a churchman and archbishop, who styled himself captain-general of the Philippines; and, however ill-qualified by his profession for the defence of a town attacked, seemed well fitted for this task by his spirit and resolution.

The day after the troops landed, the enemy abandoned a small fort called the Pulverista, which proved an excellent place of arms for covering the landing of the stores and artillery. Colonel Monson, with an advanced party of two hundred men, occupied the church of the Hermita, about nine hundred yards from the city. The head-quarters were fixed in the curate's house, and secured by the seventy-ninth regiment, as a post of the utmost importance, both from its strength, and the commodious cover it afforded from the rains which had deluged the country, and rendered it impossible to encamp. The marines were left at the Malata, in the neighbourhood of the Pulverista, to preserve the communication with the fleets, and guard the stores and artillery, which, on account of the surf, were not landed without great

danger and fatigue. The battalion of seamen were stationed between the seventy-ninth regiment and the marines; and a body of men was advanced within three hundred yards of the town, and possessed themselves of the church of St. Jago, which they maintained, notwithstanding its being exposed to the fire of the enemy.

Before batteries could be erected, the enemy, on the 26th of September, attempted a sally with about four hundred men. They were commanded by the Chevalier De Fayette, and having two field-pieces, advanced to the right of the English advanced posts, and began to cannonade. But Colonel Monson at the head of the piquets, reinforced by a small body of seamen, soon drove them back into the town. Their retreat was so precipitate that they left one of their field-pieces on the glacis.

It was imagined that the evidence of their inferiority in this slight encounter would be an inducement to the governor to endeavour at obtaining advantageous terms by an early surrender. A summons was sent to him for this purpose; to which he returned such an answer as shewed we had nothing to expect but what we were able to command. Indeed, had the valour of the garrison corresponded to the spirited declaration of the governor, the town would have had nothing to apprehend from an enemy, whose numbers obliged them to confine their operations to one corner of the place, leaving two thirds of it open to all manner of supplies. The front, to which the attack was directed, was defended by the bastions of St. Diego and St. Andrew; a ravelin which covered the royal gate, a wet ditch, covered way and glacis. The bastions were in good order, mounted with a great number of fine brass cannon; but the ditch had never been completed, the covered way was out of repair, and the glacis was too low.

While the works were going forward with great rapidity, some straggling seamen were murdered by

the savages, which induced the governor to send out a flag of truce to apologize for this barbarity, and, at the same time, to request the release of his nephew, who had been lately taken in the bay by the boats of the fleet. His demand was complied with, and Lieutenant Fryar was sent under a flag of truce, to conduct the prisoner to town. At that time a detachment of the garrison, intermixed with a body of Indians, sallied out to attack one of the posts of the besiegers; when the savages, ignorant of the law of nations, and disregarding the sacred character of an officer under a safe conduct, assaulted Mr. Fryar with the most brutal fury, mangling his body in a most shocking manner, and mortally wounding the Spanish gentleman, who endeavoured to protect his conductor. In their attack they were soon repelled by the British party who defended the post; their savage cruelty had exasperated the troops, and whenever they fell into the hands of the English soldiers, they found no mercy.

Meanwhile, the indefatigable vigour and unconquerable spirit of our soldiers and seamen had raised three batteries for cannon and mortars, which played on the town with considerable effect. The navy which had hitherto assisted no otherwise than in covering the landing, and in furnishing men and stores, began now to take a direct part in the siege. On the 29th, the admiral ordered the Elizabeth and the Falmouth to lie as near the town as the depth of water would allow, and to enfilade the enemy's front in order to second the operations of the army. Although the shallows kept them at too great a distance to have all the effect which could have been wished, their fire did not fail to produce great confusion and terror among the inhabitants, and to add very considerably to the fatigue of the garrison.

The operations of the besiegers were for some days retarded by an event which threatened to destroy at once all the effects of their industry and courage.

During the first days of October, a deluge of rain poured down, accompanied by a mighty storm of wind. The squadron was in the greatest danger, and all communication with it and the army entirely cut off. The South Sea Castle store-ship, which had lately arrived, and contained the greatest part of the tools and necessaries for prosecuting the siege, was driven on shore. The governor, or archbishop of the place, added to the advantage of these appearances in his favour, by calling in the aid of his ecclesiastical character. He gave out, that the angel of the Lord was gone forth to destroy the English, like the host of Sennacherib of old; and this miserable superstition did not fail to raise the spirits of a fearful and cowardly garrison.

The circumstances of this storm, by an extraordinary species of good fortune, became favourable to the besiegers. The South Sea Castle, by being driven on shore without any considerable damage, gave an easy and ready access to all the stores and provisions which she contained. In the situation in which she lay on shore, her cannon became a protection to the rear of the English camp; and, by enfilading the whole beach to the southward, she kept in awe a body of Indians who threatened an attack on the Pulverista and the magazine of the besiegers at the Malata. At the same time the confidence which the enemy derived from the natural helps arising from the storm, and in the supernatural ones added by their superstition, rendered them more remiss and languid in their defence; while the roaring of the sea, occasioned by the great surf, prevented them from hearing the noise of the English workmen, who were busy in the night in completing the several batteries, in finishing a parallel and communication from these to the advanced post at the church, on the left of which they established a spacious place of arms. All this was accomplished on the 3d, and, the battery being opened against the left face of St. Diego's bas-

tion, the fire was so well directed by the skill of Major Barker, that, in a few hours, twelve pieces of cannon, mounted on the face of the bastion, were totally silenced, and the enemy obliged to retire. In less than two days all their other defences were greatly impaired.

The Spaniards seeing their fortifications no longer tenable, projected a sally disposed in two attacks upon the two most important posts of the English. The first was to be made upon the cantonment of seamen, who were known to have had the most considerable part in the management of the artillery during the whole siege. The second was to be made on the church of St. Jago, which had been of so much consequence in protecting the besiegers in their approaches, and which covered a flank of the army.

In the middle of the night preceding the 4th of October, one thousand Indians marched out upon the first attack. They were much encouraged by the incessant rains, which they hoped had rendered the fire-arms useless; while their own arms, consisting only of bows and lances, could suffer nothing from such accidents. Their approach was favoured by a great number of thick bushes growing on the side of a rivulet, through which they passed in the night, without being perceived by the patroles. When they arrived at the quarter of the seamen, they began the work of destruction with a more than hostile fury. The English, though surprised, maintained their ground with steadiness, and repelled the mad rage of the savages with manly persevering courage. Prudently satisfied with this advantage, they remained firm in their posts till day-break, when two piquets of the seventy-ninth regiment arrived to their assistance. The Indians, notwithstanding the weakness of their armour, advanced in the most resolute manner to the attack, fought with incredible ferocity, when repulsed, returned with redoubled fury to the muzzles of the English muskets, and died like wild beasts gnawing their bayonets. At length, however,

they were obliged to retreat before the disciplined valour of the English, having lost three hundred men in this daring and unequal attack.

The bad success of the first attempt did not discourage those who were ordered on the second. This began just as the former had been defeated, and appeared at first more favourable to the hopes of the Spaniards. The Seapoys, who defended the church of St. Jago, were far from possessing the firmness of the English sailors, and, being dislodged without difficulty, retired in confusion from their post. The enemy, who consisted not only of Indians, but of a strong detachment from the Spanish garrison, immediately seized the church, climbed to the top, and from thence poured down a violent fire on our people, who maintained themselves with patience and resolution, until a detachment with ten field-pieces came to their relief. Then the Spaniards were compelled to give way, leaving seventy of their number dead on the spot. Nor were we freed from these resolute attacks without considerable loss. This, with the former action, cost the besiegers above forty men, including Captain Strahan of the seventy-ninth regiment, and Lieutenant Porter of the Norfolk, two gallant officers who fell universally regretted.

This was the last effort of the garrison in its own defence. The unruly spirit of the Indians, impatient of repulse, and discouraged by repeated defeats, led them to return home. The fire of the garrison grew faint, and all the outworks of the enemy were now in a ruinous condition. The operations of the besiegers, on the other hand, were so well directed, and carried on with such vigour, that, on the 5th, the breach appeared practicable. It was expected that the garrison would demand a capitulation, when no law of honour, because there was no prospect of success, required a farther defence. But the besiegers had to do with the sullen obstinacy of Spaniards, who neglected all opportunities of obtaining favour-

able terms, and without taking proper measures for defending the breach.

The English general not finding any desire of capitulation in the enemy, prepared without delay, and with the most judicious arrangements for the storm. On the 6th, at four in the morning, the troops destined for this service, filed off from their quarters in small bodies to avoid suspicion, and gradually assembling at the church of St. Jago, concealed themselves in the place of arms, and on the parallel between the church and the battery. Meanwhile, Major Barker maintained a close fire upon every part of the enemy's works, from which we might apprehend any molestation. At day-break a large body of Spaniards were seen formed on the bastion of St. Andrew, as if they had received intimation of the intended assault, and had resolved to annoy the assailants from the retired flanks of the bastion, where they had still two cannon fit for service. But the explosion of some shells thrown among them by the besiegers had so good an effect, that it made them disperse and retire in confusion.

The British troops took immediate advantage of this event, and directed by the signal of a general discharge from the artillery and mortars, rushed on to the assault under cover of a thick smoke which blew directly on the town. Lieutenant Russel, at the head of sixty volunteers from different corps, led the way. They were supported by the grenadiers of the seventy-ninth regiment. A body of pioneers to clear the breach, and, if necessary, to make lodgements, followed; a battalion of seamen advanced next, supported by two grand divisions of the seventy-ninth regiment; and the troops of the East India Company formed the rear. Disposed in this excellent order, the assailants, to the number of two thousand men, mounted the breach with amazing spirit and activity. The Spaniards retired so suddenly that it was imagined they depended entirely on their

mines. Captain Stevenson was ordered to examine the ground, which removed all apprehension from this danger; and the English troops penetrated into the town, without meeting with any opposition until they came to the royal gate, where there was a guard-house defended by one hundred Spaniards and Indians. Here Major More was transfixed with an arrow, and about twenty of our men fell. The guard refused quarter, and were cut to pieces. In proceeding forward, the troops were galled with shot from the galleries of lofty houses, surrounding the great square. But the Spanish soldiers every where gave way before them. Three hundred perished in endeavouring to escape, by passing a deep and rapid river. The governor and principal magistrates imprudently retreated to the citadel, which was by no means a tenable post; and, as the English general had no offer of capitulation, either on the part of the garrison or inhabitants, it was impossible to prevent some of the calamities which usually happen to cities taken by storm, from the cruel rapacious license of the common soldiers. Those who had retired into the citadel, dreading to be exposed to equal sufferings, surrendered at discretion. The marquis of Villa Medina, with the rest of the Spanish officers, were admitted as prisoners of war, on their parole of honour; and all the Indians were dismissed in safety. At the same time, Admiral Cornish and General Draper, influenced by a generosity familiar to our commanders, though able to command every thing by force, admitted the inhabitants to a capitulation, by which they enjoyed their liberties, lives, properties, and the administration of their domestic government. In consequence of this agreement, the town and port of Cavité, with the islands and forts depending upon Manilla, were surrendered to his Britannic Majesty; and four millions of dollars were promised as a ransom for saving the houses and effects of the inhabit-

ants.* The admiral took possession of several large ships, with a vast quantity of military and naval stores; and the English found here every refreshment to recruit the men, and every necessary to refit the squadron. The East India Company were entitled to one third of the ransom, and the booty according to agreement, was delivered up to Dawson Drake, Esq. and the other individuals appointed to receive it in behalf of that company.

This important acquisition was rendered complete by another fortunate event. During the siege, Admiral Cornish received intelligence, by the capture of an advice-ship, that the galleon from Acapulco was arrived at the Straits which form the entrance into the Archipelago of the Philippines. This intelligence was not to be neglected, as so rich a prize would greatly enhance the value of the conquest, and not a little compensate the disadvantage of a repulse. Two ships of war, the Panther, a ship of the line, Captain Parker, and the Argo frigate, Captain King, were immediately dispatched in quest of the galleon. After twenty-six days cruising, they descried, on the 30th of October, being off the Island Capul, a sail standing northward. The Panther being driven by the current among the Narangor, was obliged to anchor; but the Argo coming up with the chace, engaged her for nearly two hours, during which the English frigate was roughly handled, and even obliged to desist, until his damage could be repaired. The current slackening, Captain Parker was enabled to get under sail, and about nine next morning came up with the enemy, who after having been cannonaded two hours at a very small distance, struck her colours. The English captain was not a little surprised to learn when the Spanish officers came on board, that instead of the Sancta Philippina, which was expected

* As this ransom was never paid, commanders in future will do well to take hostages.

from Acapulco, he had taken the Sanctissima Trinidad, which was bound for that port. This vessel had left Manilla the 1st of August, and had sailed three hundred leagues to the eastward of the Embocadero; but meeting with a hard gale of wind, and being dismasted, was obliged to put back, and refit. In the first engagement with the Argo, this galleon mounted only six guns, though she was pierced for sixty. In her engagement with the Panther, she mounted but thirteen. The English captains had both been surprised to find so obstinate a resistance with so little activity of opposition. But their wonder ceased when they examined the galleon with attention. She was a huge vessel, that lay like a mountain on the water, and her sides so excessively thick, that the shot had made no impression upon any part, except her upper works. She had eight hundred men on board; and the value of her cargo was registered at one million and a half of dollars; that which was unregistered, in order to be smuggled, amounted to full as much; so that this capture was a valuable addition to the conquest, and a fresh wound to the enemy.

At no period of time, had the Spanish monarchy suffered such mortifying disasters as in the course of this war; of which there was no conquest more advantageous in itself, or more honourably achieved, than that of the Philippines. The British forces effected their landing before Manilla on the 24th of September; their battery of cannon was not completed until the 3d of October, and on the 6th they were masters of the city. In this short time, notwithstanding the tempestuous season of the year, which prevented the communication between the land and sea forces, a territory was acquired, consisting of fourteen considerable islands, which, from their extent, fertility, and convenience of commerce, furnished the materials of a great kingdom. The conquest of the Havannah had, in a great measure, interrupted the communication between the wealthy

American colonies of the Spaniards and Europe. The reduction of the Philippines now excluded them from Asia. The two together secured all the avenues of the Spanish trade, and cut of all intercourse between the parts of their vast, but unconnected, empire. Never, indeed, were any people more to be pitied than the Spaniards. They were plunged precipitately into a war, against every principle of sound policy and caution, merely to gratify the private inclinations of their sovereign, in favour of the interests of his family, which stood in direct opposition to those of his people. Unfortunately, for the happiness of mankind, the former interests will always be preferred under the government of an absolute prince. Whatever conclusions, therefore, may be drawn, at any future period, in favour of the pacific intentions of the Spaniards, from the national advantages that would result from a pacific conduct, ought not to have great weight on the councils or measures of Great Britain. We ought, in this case, to distrust appearances. The advantage, at least the supposed advantage, of a king of Spain and of his subjects, are not always the same. The national advantage is most obvious to strangers, but that of the king will prevail in the cabinet; and Spain will undertake another war against Great Britain, though more ruinous than the former, whenever the interests or honour of the house of Bourbon demand her assistance. We may be permitted another observation at this particular time. The success of the last war against Spain, than which none more brilliant is recorded in history, depended in a great measure on the rapidity with which all our measures were carried into execution. The garrison at the Havannah was in no state of defence; the inhabitants of Manilla were unacquainted with the declaration of war. The dominions of Spain from which she draws her principal resources, lying at an immense distance from the capital and one another, renders it more necessary for her than for any other

power, to temporize, until she can inspire with activity, all the parts of her extensive, but disjointed empire. For this reason, Great Britain cannot be too much on her guard, to watch the first symptom of approaching hostility. To take the advantage of the first stroke, without waiting for the formal declaration of war, may expose her to the censure of minute politicians; but to wait patiently till she herself receives it, will render her the scorn of her enemies.

The reduction of the Manillas will be handed down as a memorable event to the latest posterity. Another expedition, which was much celebrated at the time, and which adorned the lustre of the British arms in the course of this autumn was, the recovery of the Island of St. John, in Newfoundland. About the latter end of May, intelligence was received by the Admiralty, that a French squadron, under the command of M. De Ternay, had sailed from Brest under cover of a fog. The destination of this squadron being uncertain, Sir Edward Hawke, with the duke of York as rear-admiral, were immediately ordered from Spithead with seven ships of the line, and two frigates, in hopes that they might fall in with the enemy. They visited the coast of France; and, after cruising for some time in the chops of the Channel, for the protection of our trade, returned to Portsmouth, not having seen M. De Ternay's fleet. It was descried, however, on the 11th of May, about fifty leagues to the northward of the Lizard, by Captain Rowley, who had sailed with three ships of war, the Superbe of seventy-four guns, the Gosport of forty-four, and the Danaé of thirty-eight, as convoy to a fleet of merchantmen bound to the East and West Indies, and the continent of America. Captain Rowley no sooner perceived them, than he made a disposition for battle, though greatly inferior in strength. The French ships bore down upon him; when he hoisted British colours, and fired at the nearest, when she was within little more than random

shot. The enemy immediately hoisted English colours, and tacked to the northward. He gave them chace till three in the afternoon, when they were scarcely in sight; and having no hope of bringing them to action, he discontinued the pursuit, and rejoined his convoy.

The French squadron consisted of the Robuste, of seventy-four guns, the Eveille of sixty-four, the Garonne of forty-four, and the Licorne of thirty, carrying one thousand five hundred soldiers, under the command of the Count D'Hausonville. They steered their course for Newfoundland, and on the 24th of June entered the Bay of Bulls, where the troops were landed without opposition. Having taken possession of an inconsiderable English settlement in this bay, they steered for the town of St. John's, which being defended by no more than sixty-three men, surrendered upon capitulation. This little garrison were made prisoners of war, together with the officers and crew of his Majesty's sloop the Gramont, which was in the harbour. The French likewise took several merchant vessels, destroying the stages erected for curing cod, and every thing else belonging to the fishery. They afterwards began to repair the fortifications of the town, of which they had determined to keep possession.

When the news of this loss reached England, the anti-ministerial party employed it as a subject of reproach against the king's servants. Their abuse, though mean, illiberal, and vulgar, was not altogether ill-founded. Mr. Pitt's advice for guarding Newfoundland from any such attempt, had been neglected by the ministry; who, while on this occasion they represented the loss of a place cold, barren, and inhospitable, as of very little consequence, did not delay to prepare an armament for regaining the possession of it.

But their preparations for this purpose were rendered unnecessary, by the vigilant celerity of Lord

Colville and Sir Jeffery Amherst, who commanded by sea and land in North America. The former, upon receiving advice of the progress of the French in Newfoundland, immediately sailed thither from Halifax, and blocked up the harbour of St. John's with one ship of the line and one frigate only, even while Monsieur De Ternay lay at anchor in it, with a superior squadron. On the 11th day of September his lordship was joined by Colonel Amherst, whom his brother Sir Jeffery had detached from New York, with orders to touch at Louisbourg, and take on board some troops, which, with those embarked at Halifax, amounted to about eight hundred men, chiefly Highlanders and light infantry. The light infantry landed, after a short resistance, at Torbay, about seven miles to the northward of St. John's, it not being possible to land at Kitty-vitty, where the enemy had stopped up the narrow entrance, by sinking shallops in the channel. The French had continued to annoy the boats, as the troops landed; until the light infantry obliged the enemy to retreat. The French afterwards took to the woods, through which the British had to march for four miles. They wounded several of our men with their bush-fire, which was very troublesome till Captain M'Donald's company of light infantry rushed in upon them, took some prisoners, and dispersed the rest. The British forces advanced to the strong post of Kitty-vitty, which they took sword in hand. This advantage secured their communication with the ships for landing the stores and artillery. The enemy posted on a hill on the other side of the river, fired upon our men; but a detachment was sent to drive them from this eminence from which they retreated in precipitation, leaving several prisoners behind. The French were still in possession of two very high and steep hills, the one in the neighbourhood of our advanced posts, and the other in the neighbourhood of St. John's, and commanding all the intermediate space,

It was necessary to dislodge them; which was performed by Captain Macdonald with great bravery and resolution, at the head of his own and the provincial light infantry. With this corps he passed the sentries and advanced guard unobserved, and was not discovered till the main body of the French saw him climbing up the rocks, and almost at the top, which he gained; having received the enemy's fire, he poured in his own with such vivacity that the French gave way. The gallant Captain received a mortal wound; his lieutenant with four men were killed, and eighteen wounded.

On the 16th Colonel Amherst proceeded vigorously in his preparations to attack the town of St. John's. The breast-work and unfinished battery which commanded the harbour being taken, the entrance of the channel was cleared, and the stores and artillery were landed without difficulty. This was fortunately performed before a violent gale of wind, which happened immediately after, and drove Lord Colville to a considerable distance from the coast. In his absence Monsieur De Ternay took advantage of a thick fog, to slip his cables and to make his escape, leaving the garrison of St. John's to defend itself. His ships were seen at a great distance by the British squadron; but his conduct was so unlike that of Englishmen in abandoning a place intrusted to his protection, that it was not imagined the ships which they descried could be those of Monsieur Ternay.

On the 17th at night the colonel opened a battery, with one eight-inch mortar, seven cohorns, and six royals. The enemy, at the same time, began a brisk fire from the fort, and threw several shells. In the morning of the 18th the Count D'Hausonville, who had declared two days before in a letter to Colonel Amherst that he would not surrender the fort until it were totally destroyed, thought proper to alter his resolution, and to demand a capitulation. The garrison surrendered prisoners of war, on condition of

being conveyed to Brest with the first opportunity; which condition was immediately fulfilled by Lord Colville, who had, by this time returned into the harbour. Thus the town and fort of St. John's, with all the other places which the French had taken on this coast, were recovered by the indefatigable labour and persevering bravery of a handful of men, without the loss of above twenty soldiers in this important service.

In the retaking of St. John's, as well as in the reduction of the Havannah and the Philippines, the fleet and army co-operated with singular harmony and success. As they underwent the same fatigue, and were exposed to similar dangers, they were entitled to an equal share of glory as well as of reward. But it is obvious that the vast superiority of the English seamen to the French and Spanish, and their firm hardiness in performing some branches of service which no land-troops in the world would have dared to attempt, was the principal cause of that uniform and uninterrupted train of good fortune which crowned the British arms. The manly firmness and persevering resolution of our seamen, directed by the experienced valour and active vigilance of our naval commanders, overcame obstacles of art and nature which appeared at first sight insurmountable. Every measure was taken at that critical moment which was most favourable to its success; no advantage was left unimproved, no error unrepaired. The whole plan of every expedition, as well as its subordinate parts, was conducted with heroic bravery, and guided by consummate wisdom.

Nor was the merit of the fleet less conspicuous in those attempts which were more immediately directed against the naval strength and resources of the enemy. In the course of the year we meet with several actions at sea, which would adorn the annals of any country. We shall relate them in the order of time in which they happened.

Had the enemy's designs succeeded, we should have had few exploits to boast of near the coast of France. In the month of December of the year 1761, they attempted to burn at once all the British ships of war that lay at anchor in the road of Basque. They prepared three fire-ships, which being chained together, were towed out of the port, and set on fire with a strong breeze that blew directly on the English squadron. This attempt, however, was made with hurry and trepidation, and the wind luckily shifting, drove them clear of the ships they were intended to destroy. They were consumed to no purpose, after blowing up with a terrible explosion, and every person on board perishing. On the 7th of March, his Majesty's ship Milford fell in with a Spanish letter of marque in her passage to St. Domingo. She had been a privateer of Bayonne and pierced for twenty guns, but carried at present only sixteen six-pounders, ten swivels, and ninety-four men, and had a valuable cargo on board. The engagement was hot and desperate. Captain Mann of the Milford soon received a mortal wound. Mr. Day the first lieutenant, taking the command of the ship, was immediately shot through the head. The defence of the king's ship devolving on Lieutenant Nash; this officer received several wounds in his hands and face. The engagement continued almost for twenty-four hours, when the enemy struck, both ships being miserably shattered.

About the same time his Majesty's ship Fowey, of twenty-four guns, nine pounders, and one hundred and thirty-five men, commanded by Captain Mead, fell in with La Ventura, a Spanish frigate of twenty-six guns, twelve pounders, and three hundred men, carrying money to pay the Spanish troops at Porto-Rico and St. Domingo. These frigates engaged about seven leagues from Cape Tiberone. The fight continued an hour and an half, when their mutual damages obliged them both at the same time to sheer

off and repair. This done, Captain Mead, at ten o'clock of the night, bore down a second time on the enemy; but after exchanging a broadside without any visible effect, it being too dark to form any satisfactory notion of the distance and motion of the Spanish vessel, he made sail to windward, keeping a proper look-out, that he might not lose sight of her, but be able to renew the attack with advantage by day-light. Accordingly, in the dawn of the morning, the Fowey, keeping her men at their quarters, ran up as close to the Ventura as it was possible without falling on board of her. The engagement, renewed for the third time, was more bloody and desperate than before. It lasted with extraordinary courage and conduct on both sides till half an hour past eight, when the Spanish frigate having received several shot between wind and water, and being reduced almost to a wreck, was compelled to strike her colours. She had nearly fifty men killed; and both ships were so much disabled that neither of them had tackles left to hoist out a boat, nor indeed a boat that could swim. Captain Mead, who is known by his useful invention for cleaning a ship's bottom at sea, had occasion for all his ingenuity on this occasion. He contrived by nailing tarpaulins over the shot-holes of a small boat, to bring the Spanish officers on board the Fowey. His gallantry was the more conspicuous on this occasion, as the ship's master was drunk and unfit to give the least assistance during the action. The gunner, too, happened to be wounded in the beginning of the engagement; and a lieutenant, with twenty-four men, were on shore.

On the 3d of April, after this wreck was carried into Port-Royal in Jamaica, the Hussar frigate, Captain Carket, attacked four ships, lying under a fort in Tiberone Bay; one of which carrying sixteen guns she burnt, sunk another of fourteen guns, cut out one of sixteen, and another of twelve, and carried them into Jamaica. In this desperate enterprise the

Hussar had but one man killed and twelve wounded; whereas the French had seventeen killed and thirty-five wounded. But most of the crews of the enemy's ships escaped ashore in their boats during the engagement.

On the 21st of May two British frigates, cruising off Cape St. Vincent, made prize of the Hermione, a Spanish register-ship, bound from Lima to Cadiz, loaded with such a quantity of treasure and valuable effects as enriched all the captors. The Hermione had but twenty-eight guns, and surrendered with little or no resistance; she was indeed in no situation to make a proper defence, the officers on board not being acquainted with the declaration of war between the two kingdoms. This ship carried two million six hundred thousand hard dollars; and her whole cargo was valued at a million sterling, which is more than had ever been before taken in one bottom. The loss of such immense treasure at the beginning of a war which required the greatest expence, must have been a heavy blow to the ambition of the court of Madrid. The prize was brought from Gibraltar to England, and the gold and silver being conveyed in covered waggons to London, was carried in procession to the Bank, amidst the acclamations of the people, who considered this as an auspicious omen of success in the war against Spain.

In the beginning of April, Captain Ourry of the Acteon, in the latitude of Tobago, took a large Spanish register-ship, bound for Lagueira, laden with artillery, stores, and ammunition. In September, a fleet of twenty-five sail of French merchant ships, richly laden with sugar, coffee, and indigo, took their departure from Cape Francis for Europe, under convoy of four frigates. Five of these vessels were surprised and taken in the night by some privateers of New York and Jamaica. Next day, it was their misfortune to fall in with Commodore Keppel, who made prize of their whole fleet and convoy, which

were carried into the harbour of Port Royal in Jamaica.

Nor were the British cruisers less successful on the coasts of Europe. In the beginning of April Captain Gambier of the Burford arrived at Plymouth with a large East Indiaman which had sailed from the Isle of Bourbon with a valuable cargo, and been taken by one of Admiral Pocock's squadron in the Chops of the Channel. About the end of August Captain Hotham of the Æolus chaced two Spanish ships into the Bay of Aviles, in the neighbourhood of Cape Pinas; and on the 2d day of September, standing into the bay, came to an anchor in such a situation as to bring his guns to bear not only upon one of the ships, but also upon a small battery situated on an eminence. After a short but warm contest both the battery and ship were abandoned; but before Captain Hotham could take possession of his prize, she ran a-ground, and bulging, was burned by the captors. On the 20th of September he took a vessel of considerable value belonging to Bourdeaux. In the beginning of November Captain Ruthven of the Terpsichore took a French ship of 20 guns bound from Bourdeaux to Cape Francis. The action, in which the captain was wounded, was sharp and obstinate. On the 9th of the same month the enemy lost the Oiseau, a frigate of twenty-six guns, commanded by the Chevalier De Modene, who fell in with Captain Tonyn of the king's ship the Brune, about seven leagues from Carthagena. The engagement was maintained with great spirit on both sides: but at length the chevalier was obliged to submit, having lost about thirty men, including all his officers, excepting three, who with himself were wounded in the action.

A continuation of success had inspired the English with an enthusiasm of valour as well as of magnanimity. Of the first we have an example in an exploit of the Brilliant and Duke of York privateers; and of the

latter in the behaviour of Captain Clark of the Sheerness frigate. These privateers entered a small port near Cape Finisterre, defended by a battery at the entrance. In two hours time they beat the Spaniards from the fort, hoisted English colours, and spiked up the cannon. They might have laid the town in ashes, but were satisfied with burning two ships, and bringing off four more which were loaded with wine for the use of the Spanish fleet at Ferrol. The Minerva, a French frigate, had, in company with four other ships of war, given chase to the Sheerness commanded by Captain Clark, who took refuge in the harbour of Villa Franca, and there anchored, the wind blowing fresh. He was immediatly followed by the captain of the Minerva, who, actuated by an idle spirit of vanity and insolence, resolved to lie between him and the shore, and ran his ship upon the rocks which bound the eastern side of the harbour. Being himself ignorant of the art of seamanship, and ill assisted by a crew little acquainted with such emergencies, his ship was in a short time dashed in pieces; and a considerable number of his people perished, notwithstanding all the assistance he could receive from his consorts. On this melancholy occasion Captain Clark, forgetting they were enemies, and that this very calamity was occasioned by their resentment against him and his country, exerted himself vigorously for their relief. He could not have done more if his friends had been in danger. By this generous assistance the greatest part of the crew and all the officers were saved.

The same firm and resolute spirit, and the same enterprising gallantry, appeared in every branch of the English marine. Even the packets performed exploits which would have done honour to ships of war of any other country. The Hampden, of eight carriage guns and thirty men, sailing between Faro and Gibraltar, was attacked by eleven privateers, which bore down in order of battle. The commo-

dore was a barcolongo of eight guns and sixty men; the second was a xebeque of the same number of guns and men; five of a lesser size followed a little a-stern; other four carrying thirty men each, with one gun in the prow, brought up the rear. The engagement began at eleven in the forenoon, in sight of Gibraltar, and continued till half past one, when that mighty squadron were ordered by the commander-in-chief to haul their wind, and to return from whence they came! The Hampden proceeded to Gibraltar, with her sails and rigging greatly damaged, but without any other considerable loss. The Harriot packet, in her passage from New York to Falmouth, discovered equal gallantry, having twice repulsed a French privateer of more than double her force. The captain was rewarded with a purse of an hundred guineas, and promoted to the command of a Lisbon packet.

It would be tedious to relate every naval exploit of the year 1762, in the course of which our men of war and privateers fought and took one hundred and twenty considerable prizes, carrying eight hundred and forty-four guns and nearly six thousand men. Neither French nor Spaniards had force at sea which was fit to annoy our trade in any great degree, and they were deterred from risking their lives and properties on board of privateers, by the rough treatment which these commonly met with from the English frigates or armed merchantmen. Since the Spaniards, through the ambition of the court, had been precipitated into this fatal war, they had lost twelve ships of the line besides frigates; and the French had been deprived of a marine sufficient to constitute the strength of a great kingdom. Their whole loss amounted to eighteen ships of the line and thirty-six frigates taken; fourteen ships of the line and thirteen frigates destroyed, On the other hand, the French took two and destroyed three English frigates: and thirteen British ships of the line, with

fourteen frigates, were lost by accident. But not one capital English ship fell into the hands of the enemy.

The prospect of rich plunder, which always attends a Spanish war, had revived the spirit of privateering, after it was in a great measure extinguished by the repeated disasters of the French, which had left them scarcely any thing more to lose by sea. Some attempts were made in this way, which seem bold and daring beyond the spirit and abilities of private persons. The expedition against Buenos Ayres in particular, though it ended unfortunately by a fatal accident against which human prudence is too weak to provide, deserves, on account of the boldness and magnitude of the design, to be recorded among the memorable naval exploits of the year. It was the last act of hostility between the English and Spaniards, and concluded in a manner the most proper for disposing brave and generous nations to a mutual forgiveness of injuries, and a sincere desire of accommodation.

The attempt against this Spanish settlement was undertaken by some private adventurers, after we had made ourselves masters of the Havannah, and taken measures for the conquest of the Philippines. Government thought proper to encourage their design, not so much from any lucrative motive as on account of the situation of Buenos Ayres, which, of all the Spanish colonies, lies the most conveniently for molesting the possessions of our Portuguese allies, and which, if we should be so fortunate as to get it into our power, would afford a station well adapted for enterprises against the trade and the dominions of Spain in the South Seas. The embarkation was made from the Tagus, and consisted of the Lord Clive and Ambuscade privateers, the former of which was equal in force to a ship of fifty guns. They were reinforced by a Portuguese frigate, and some small armed vessels and store-ships, and had on board five hundred soldiers, partly English, partly Portuguese.

The expedition was under the command of Captain Macnamara, an adventurer of spirit and experience, who had been many years a captain in the East India Company's service, and had embarked his whole fortune in the present enterprise.

The armament sailed from Lisbon the 30th of Auguest, 1762, from which place, to the mouth of the Plata, the voyage proved favourable. But when they had entered that vast river the 2d of November, difficulties and obstructions began to encounter them on every side. A violent gale of wind, attended with thunder and lightning, attacked them at their entrance. When the tempest ceased, they found that the river was shoaly, and of so difficult navigation that they must meet with no small obstructions in making their way to Buenos Ayres. The Spaniards were not here, as in other places, unacquainted with the declaration of war. They were well prepared for making a vigorous resistance, and had begun, some weeks before, to act on the offensive by taking the Portuguese settlement of Nova Colonia.

This unexpected intelligence, and the difficulties of the voyage to Buenos Ayres, determined the adventurers to abandon for some time this first design, and to begin with the recovery of Nova Colonia. An English pilot who knew the place and river, and whom they accidently met with on board a Portuguese vessel, encouraged them to the attempt, undertaking to carry the commodore's ship into the harbour, and within pistol-shot of the enemy's principal battery.

On the 1st of January, 1763, he made good his promise. The English ships arrived before Nova Colonia in good order, and the men in high spirits. They adorned their vessels with all the pomp and parade of a naval triumph. Their colours were fully displayed; the soldiers drest in new red uniforms, and disposed upon the poop and upon the tops, made a gallant appearance. In this manner they advanced

to the attack the 6th of January, with horns sounding and drums beating, and every movement expressive of hope and victory.

The Lord Clive made the signal for engaging, and soon after anchored under the eastmost battery of the place, while the Ambuscade was exposed to a warm fire from the middle and west batteries, as well as from two Spanish frigates. But the plan of engagement was not exactly followed; the Portuguese frigate on which they had great dependence, having anchored at such a distance that none of her shot reached the shore. The Spaniards pointed their guns well, and stood to them with firmness. But the ships having rectified several mistakes in their first disposition, began a most fierce cannonading, which lasted from eleven in the forenoon till three in the afternoon, when the enemy's fire began visibly to abate, and their men to retire to the eastmost battery as the place of greatest security. Against this the fire of the English was directed with redoubled violence; and they had hopes every minute of seeing the Spanish colours struck. But when they were on the point of attaining the object of all their desires, the commodore's ship, by some accident which has never been accounted for, unfortunately took fire. In a moment she was all in a blaze; and the same instant discovered the flames and the impossibility of extinguishing them. There was to be seen a most dreadful spectacle. The sides of the vessel were immediately crowded with naked men, who but a few minutes before reckoned themselves in the assured prospect of wealth and conquest. Some clung to the sails and rigging until the violence of the flames obliged them to forego their hold; others precipitated themselves into the sea; many died by their own hands; and several of still more determined courage went to the lower guns in the midst of all this scene of confusion and horror, and kept up a constant fire on the enemy, till they were driven by the flames to perish

in another element. The commodore perished; and of three hundred and forty men, only seventy-eight escaped.

None of the other vessels durst approach the Clive for fear of sharing her fate. The Ambuscade, which had suffered greatly from the enemy's fire, escaped to the Portuguese settlement of Rio de Janeiro. Such of the Lord Clive's crew as, by uncommon dexterity in swimming, reached the shore, were humanely received by the Spaniards, whose resentment was extinguished in the calamity of their enemies. The English came to them naked; they clothed them decently: they were destitute of every necessary; they supplied abundantly all their wants, received them into their houses, and treated them rather like their dearest friends than enemies come to expel them from their possessions.

The war thus closed with an action the fittest that can be imagined to dispose the minds of men to humanity, gentleness, and benevolence, and to prepare them for receiving with approbation the measures which had been taken for giving peace* to the four quarters of the world.

MEMOIRS OF

THE HON. EDWARD BOSCAWEN,

ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE.

The Honourable Edward Boscawen was the third son of Hugh Lord Viscount Falmouth, by Charlotte Godfrey, eldest daughter and coheiress of Charles Godfrey, and of Arabella Churchill, sister to John duke of Marlborough; so that he derived from his

* Concluded at Paris the 10th of February, 1763. See Appendix, No. V. for the articles of this treaty of peace.

birth all the advantages which an ancient and affluent family, and illustrious connexions may be supposed to confer. He was born on the 19th of August, 1711. Of his early years, and of the progress of his education previous to his entering the naval service, we have not been able to obtain an account; neither have we heard whether he shewed any juvenile indications of that promptitude, decision, and bravery, which marked and distinguished the events of his future life. In consequence of his expressing a boyish fondness for the sea service, he was sent on board a frigate as a midshipman, at the age of twelve years; and after serving in that capacity the allotted time, he was appointed a lieutenant, in which station he gained high credit, as a skilful seaman, and a spirited and active officer.

On the 12th of March, 1737, he was promoted to the rank of captain, and soon after obtained the command of the Leopard, a fourth rate, of fifty guns. During his continuance in this command, nothing occurred that merits a place in this narrative.

At the commencement of the war with Spain in 1739, Captain Boscawen was appointed to the command of the Shoreham frigate, with which ship he was directed to cruise off the island of Jamaica. Soon after his arrival there he had occasion to show his disinterested zeal for the public service. On being ordered to join the expedition then about to sail against Porto Bello, he discovered that his frigate was unfit for sea, and still more for so hazardous an enterprise, without undergoing a thorough repair. But eager to be employed on a service where so many difficulties were to be encountered, and so much glory was consequently to be gained, he solicited Admiral Vernon for permission to leave his ship in port, and to serve under him as a volunteer. To this solicitation the Admiral gave his consent, and Captain Boscawen accompanied him to Porto Bello, where his gallant

spirit met with that success, and received those honours, which it had been so laudably ambitious to gain; and his conduct during the expedition displayed so much knowledge and ability, as well as spirit, that after the reduction of the place he was appointed to superintend and direct the demolition of the fortress.

Having returned to the command of the Shoreham in 1741, he formed one of Admiral Vernon's fleet on the expedition to Carthagena. At the attack of this place, he had an opportunity of distinguishing himself by that quick-sighted judgment and intrepid valour which were the most prominent features of his military character, and which, in the course of his long services, redounded not less to the essential interests than to the naval honour of his country. He was appointed to command a detachment, consisting of three hundred sailors and two hundred soldiers, formed for the purpose of storming a fascine battery which had been erected by the enemy on the island of Boca, and by which the operations of our troops against the castle of Boca Chica were considerably impeded.

Pushing forward with a strength equal to their animation, they soon climbed the intrenchments, and entering the embrasures in the face of a continued fire, and on the very muzzles of the guns, they drove the enemy from the works with considerable slaughter: and, after spiking the guns, and burning the platforms together with the carriages, guard-house, and magazine, Boscawen led off his detachment in order, and returned to the fleet with six wounded prisoners.

The Spaniards, fully sensible of the support which this battery had afforded them, were indefatigable in their endeavours to repair it; and having in a few days so far succeeded as to be able to bring six guns to bear on the English fleet, Boscawen was again or-

dered to reduce it, but in a manner which exposed him less to personal danger than the service in which it was before deemed expedient to employ him. He was directed to proceed with his own ship, the Shoreham, together with the Princess Amelia and Litchfield, as close in shore as the depth of water would admit them, to anchor abreast of the battery, and to bring their broadsides to bear upon it; whilst on the other hand, a detachment of seamen, under the command of Captains Watson, Cotes, and Dennis, were at the same time to storm it. These measures, taken with so much skill and prudence, would in all probability have ensured success to the attack, but the Spaniards, intimidated at the formidable appearance of the assailants, abandoned the battery without firing a shot.

Soon after this affair, Admiral Vernon determined to raise the siege of Carthagena, but before the fleet sailed, Boscawen was again employed in the same sort of service in which he had so ably acquitted himself at Porto Bello; being appointed to command a detachment that was sent to rase the different forts which the English had taken on the neighbouring coast. And whilst he was engaged in this service he was appointed, by Admiral Vernon, to the command of the Prince Frederick, of seventy guns, in consequence of the death of Lord Aubrey Beauclerk, who, as we have already seen, gloriously fell in one of the attacks on Boca Chica castle.

The subsequent naval operations which took place during Boscawen's continuance in the West Indies, though he was employed in most of them, were so unimportant at the time, and are now so completely uninteresting, that we shall pass them over in silence.

In May 1742, he returned to England, and anchored at St. Helen's with the Prince Frederick, on the 14th of that month, after a passage of nine weeks,

from Jamaica. He brought advice that the fleet and army under Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth, were, at the time he left them, under sail on an expedition against the Spanish colony at Panama, in the South Sea; to which place it was the intention of these officers to go by way of Darien, and to march their troops across that isthmus.

From the period of Boscawen's return to England, till the beginning of the year 1745, he was principally, if not entirely, employed in cruising in the British Channel. Whilst he was on this service, he captured the Medea, a French frigate, commanded by M. De Hocquart. About the end of this year he was appointed to the command of the Royal Sovereign, then lying as a guardship at the Nore; and it was part of his duty on that station to inspect all the armed vessels fitted out on the Thames, and hired by Government during the rebellion, previously to their proceeding on their respective cruises.

In January 1746, he obtained the command of the Namur, formerly a ship of ninety guns, but had then been reduced to a third rate. In this command nothing material happened till the November following, when being appointed commodore of a small squadron, which was ordered to cruise at the entrance of the British Channel, he captured two prizes, one of them a large privateer, fitted out from St. Maloe's, the other a dispatch boat from M. De Jonquiere, the commander of the French fleet on the American station, with advice of the death of the Duc D'Anville, and of the consequent failure of the expedition under his command.

In the year 1747, he commanded a line-of-battle ship in the fleet sent out to America under Admirals Anson and Vernon; and in the action of the 3d of May, between that fleet and the French squadron under Monsieur De Jonquiere, Boscawen signalized himself equally by his heroism and his judgment.

The French fleet having got the weather-gage, kept up a constant and well-directed fire on the English ships, as they turned to windward to form the line abreast of the enemy. Boscawen perceiving that our ships would thereby be disabled before their guns could be brought to bear on the French line, and his ship being a very superior sailer to any of the rest, and being, besides, the leading ship of the van, he pressed forward with a crowd of sail, received the greatest part of the enemy's fire, and singly maintained the conflict until the remainder of the fleet came up to his support; by which daring but judicious manœuvre, he principally contributed to the complete success, with which, on that day, the English arms were crowned. On this occasion he was severely wounded in the shoulder by a musket-ball. His country, however, was not long deprived of his services by this misfortune, from the effects of which he recovered in a few weeks.

On his return to England, he was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and was shortly after invested with a command, which shows the very high estimation in which both his integrity and abilities were held. He was appointed admiral and commandant of a squadron of six ships of the line, ordered for the East Indies, and along with this appointment received a commission from the king as general and commander-in-chief of the land-forces employed on that expedition; the only instance, except the earl of Peterborough, of any officer having received such a command since the reign of Charles II. This gave rise to much public censure on the conduct of ministers, as well as to many private jealousies, if not animosities; yet, though the expedition proved unsuccessful, the troops employed on that service, never expressed any dislike, much less any discontent, at their being commanded by a naval officer; but this forbearance proceeded from their personal

respect and esteem for Admiral Boscawen, a circumstance that reflects high praise on the private virtues that adorned his character.

As the earlier part of the transactions of this expedition to India has been related by an officer who accompanied it, and as he was an eye-witness of the following circumstances, we shall give his account in his own words:

"On November the 4th, 1747, the squadron sailed from St. Helen's, with a fair wind, which only served for that day; but Admiral Boscawen, anxious to get out of the Channel, chose rather to turn to windward with the fleet than to put back. Meeting with hard gales of wind, they were obliged to anchor in Torbay, where the fleet arrived about eleven o'clock on November 10, but at four o'clock in the evening, the wind serving, sailed again, and proceeded to the Land's-end, when it turned again; but struggling with the winds, came to an anchor in the road of Madeira on December 13th. Hard gales of wind had separated several ships, which, however, on the 17th joined the admiral, who used all possible means to get the fleet in a condition to sail; this being completed on the 22d, they sailed on the 23d. On March the 29th, 1748, the fleet came to an anchor in Table Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope. On the 30th, the ground was pitched on to encamp, and men were ordered on shore to clear it; but the wind blowed so fresh, that the forces could not land till April 6th, when the whole encamped in good order and discipline, being three battalions, with artillery; on the right were four hundred marines, making one battalion: six English independent companies, of one hundred and twelve men each, were on the left: and six Scotch companies were in the centre. The men made a good appearance, and no pains were spared, as to discipline and refreshment, in order to fit them for their better performance in action. The admiral by his genteel behaviour gained the love of

the land officers, and never was greater harmony among all degrees of men than in this expedition, all thinking themselves happy in being under his command. The time they stayed at the Cape was of great service to the land and sea forces, who had fresh meat all the time: but their stay was longer than was intended, occasioned by five India ships, with forces on board, parting from the fleet, purposely to get first to the Cape, in order to sell their private trade to better advantage; but they were mistaken, as they did not arrive till April the 14th, and those India ships that were with the admiral had supplied the Cape with all that was wanting."

On the 8th of May, Admiral Boscawen sailed from the Cape with the squadron under his command, together with six ships belonging to the Dutch East India Company, on board of which were four hundred soldiers. After a fatiguing and tedious passage, occasioned by a series of contrary winds rather unusual in those seas at that season, the whole fleet made the French island of Mauritius at day-break on the 23d of June, except three of the Dutch ships, which had parted company, in the stormy weather they had encountered. This island Admiral Boscawen was ordered to attack on his way to the coast of Coromandel. As soon, therefore, as the fleet came opposite to the east point of the island, he drew up the ships in line of battle a-head, and proceeded along the northern coast of the island. Before night they had advanced within two leagues of Fort Louis, at which distance he brought his fleet to an anchor in a bay that lay between the mouths of two small rivers. The party which was sent in a rowing boat in the dusk of the evening to reconnoitre the shore, had discovered only two places, where, from the lowness of the surf, it seemed practicable to make a descent, and these were defended by two fascine batteries of six guns each, which fired on the ships as

they passed: all the rest of the shore was defended by rocks and breakers.

The next morning the French opened upon the English squadron two other fascine batteries, raised at the entrance of the two rivers, between which it was at anchor. This fire was returned by one of the fifty-gun ships, but little execution was done on either side. Boscawen now sent a sloop with the two principal engineers and an artillery officer, to reconnoitre the coast the whole way up to the entrance of Port Louis; these officers reported, on their return, that they had been fired upon by no less than eight different batteries planted along the shore, as well as by the forts at the entrance of the harbour, across which lay moored a large ship of two decks; and there were besides, twelve ships at anchor within the harbour, four of which were of considerable force, and ready for sea. When night approached, the barges of the six line-of-battle ships, with the most experienced officers of the fleet, were sent to sound. On their return they reported that a reef of rocks, which extended along the shore, at the distance of twenty yards from it, rendered it impossible to effect a landing, except at the entrance of the rivers already mentioned. With respect to the harbour itself, they discovered that the channel leading into it, was only one hundred fathoms wide, and that from that circumstance, as well as from the opposition of the south wind, which blew directly down it, the getting up to the mouth of the harbour any part of the fleet, would be attended with almost insuperable difficulties. Upon receiving this intelligence, Boscawen called a council of war, composed of the principal land and sea-officers, at which it was resolved, that as they were ignorant of the strength of the French, three armed boats should be sent to endeavour to land in the night, and to take by surprise even a single man, that some certain information respecting the actual situation and numbers of the enemy might

thereby be obtained. This project, however, proved abortive; and the following morning the council of war assembled again, when they came to this decision, that although they thought themselves sufficiently powerful to reduce the island, yet the loss they would probably sustain in the attack, and the number of men which would be requisite to garrison the fortifications, would necessarily so much weaken their force, that it would certainly retard, and might, perhaps, entirely prevent them from undertaking the siege of Pondicherry, which Boscawen was instructed to consider as the principal object of the expedition under his command. It was, therefore, resolved, to proceed to the coast of Coromandel without delay, so that the fleet might arrive there in time to act, before the change of the monsoon in October. Boscawen accordingly sailed from the Mauritius the next day, the 27th of June, when the Dutch ships parted with the fleet, and steered for Batavia, and the English pursued their course to the coast of Coromandel. On the 29th of July, he arrived at Fort St. David, where he found the squadron under Admiral Griffin, who resigned the command of it to him, and soon after returned to England.

The junction of these fleets formed the greatest marine force belonging to any one European nation that had ever been seen in the Indian seas; it consisted of more than thirty ships, of which thirteen were of the line. The English at Fort St. David, and all the native powers attached to their cause, beheld this formidable armament with a joy proportioned to the success which was naturally looked for from its operations.

Anxious to strike a decisive blow before the French had time to collect their allies (some of the smaller rajahs of the Indian peninsula) to their assistance, Boscawen determined to proceed to Pondicherry without a moment's delay. He accordingly landed the necessary stores and the whole of his troops who had

been in perfect health throughout the voyage; a circumstance attributed by the officer from whose narrative we made an extract, to the great benefit derived from the air-pipes, by which the ships of the fleet were ventilated. After the troops were landed, three line-of-battle ships, and a sloop of war, were dispatched to Pondicherry, in order to blockade the place by sea. Without proceeding into details of facts that have already been noticed, it is sufficient to say, this project was unsuccessful. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, though there was an immediate cessation of hostilities between the French and English in India, some circumstances rendered it necessary for Boscawen to remain in India with a fleet a few months longer; a necessity which accidentally proved very unfortunate, for on the 13th of April following, a violent hurricane arose, in which the Namur, of seventy-four guns (the admiral's flag-ship), the Pembroke, and the Apollo hospital-ship, together with the greatest part of their crews, were unhappily lost. When the gale commenced, the Namur was at anchor in the road of Fort St. David. The admiral was on shore, but the officer in command of the ship, immediately cut the cables and put to sea, though the impetuosity of the tempest and the uncommon height of the sea was such, as to offer little prospect of being able to save the ship; and, after struggling for some hours in an endeavour to get off the coast, she foundered in nine fathom water; Captain Marshall, Mr. Gilchrist the third lieutenant, the captain of marines, the surgeon, purser, chaplain, boatswain, and about forty seamen, being all that were saved out of six hundred.

The town of Madras being delivered up by the French, and taken possession of by the English, and every other stipulation being fulfilled by the enemy according to the treaty of peace, Boscawen sailed from Fort St. David on the 19th of October, 1749,

and arrived at St. Helen's on the 14th of April following.

Being now unemployed in his professional avocations, Boscawen became a zealous politician, and regularly attended in the House of Commons as the representative of the borough of Truro, for which place he had been first returned in the year 1741. His acknowledged abilities in his profession were not long unrewarded. Ministers sensible of the utility of employing those abilities in the naval department of government, he was appointed one of the lords of the Admiralty on the 22d of June, 1751; and shortly afterwards he was elected one of the elder brethren of the Trinity House.

On the 4th of February, 1755, he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue, in which station his services were soon after called for.

The French ministry, who had for some time amused the court of London with strong professions of the inviolability of their friendship and good faith, now began to pull off the mask, when it appeared that they had not only sanctioned their officers in America in acts of hostility against the English colonies, but were then actually employed in the ports of France, in the equipment of a formidable naval force. This armament was commanded by Monsieur Bois De la Motte, and consisted of twenty-five ships of the line, a number of frigates, and a fleet of transports, on board of which was embarked a considerable land force, together with a train of artillery, stores, and camp equipage, calculated for the prosecution of offensive war. By this means the French ministry designed to carry into effect their ambitious projects in America, and at the same time to be prepared to strike a decisive blow against England in that quarter, if her jealousy should prompt her to oppose, by force of arms, the execution of their purpose. But the very circumstance of fitting

out so large a force, without giving previous notice of their intentions to the court of London, was of itself a palpable infraction of the treaty of peace; and the English government, justly considering it in that light, equipped a fleet of eleven sail of the line and a frigate, with all possible dispatch, on board of which having embarked two regiments of infantry, the command was given to Boscawen. He proceeded without delay to the Banks of Newfoundland, where he was ordered to cruise for the purpose of intercepting the French fleet, in its passage to the River St. Lawrence; and he was moreover particularly instructed to treat the French as an enemy wheresoever he might chance to fall in with them. Boscawen had not left Plymouth more than a few days, when intelligence was received that the French armament had actually sailed; in consequence of which, Rear-admiral Holbourne was ordered to follow him with a reinforcement of six ships of the line and a frigate.

The fogs which are so prevalent on the coast of Newfoundland, prevented the French and English fleets from discovering each other; and the French admiral taking advantage of this circumstance, and aware that he was pursued, divided his fleet into two parts; one of which he sent to the River St. Lawrence by the usual passage, while the other entered that river by passing through the Straits of Belleisle, a course never before attempted by ships of the line. Boscawen lay with his fleet off Cape Ray, the most southern promontory of Newfoundland, which he conceived to be the best station for intercepting the enemy's fleet. He was, however, disappointed in this expectation. The French succeeded in getting into the River St. Lawrence with their whole force, excepting two of their line of battle ships, which had parted in a fog from one of the divisions of their fleet, and which Boscawen had the good fortune to capture. These ships fell in with the English ships

Dunkirk and Defiance, each of which mounted sixty guns; and, after a gallant contest of five hours, the French struck their colours. The names of the French ships were the Lys and Alcide, in the first of which was found 80,000*l.* sterling in specie; and these prizes were the more valuable from the number of officers of distinction who were on board of them. In M. Hocquart, the commander of the Alcide, Boscawen met an old acquaintance, it being the third time that he and that officer had been opposed to each other in action, and the third time he had been made his prisoner. A few weeks subsequent to this affair, Boscawen returned to England with his prizes, and fifteen hundred prisoners.

In 1756, Boscawen was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the white; a few months afterwards he was promoted to the red flag of the same rank; and, in the beginning of the year 1758, he was made admiral of the blue, and at the same time was appointed to the command of a large fleet equipped for the special purpose of co-operating with the army under General Amherst, on the expedition against Louisbourg.

On Boscawen's arrival at Halifax, he was joined by General Amherst and the army; and the two commanders having agreed upon the plan of operations, they sailed from thence on the 28th of May. The fleet, including transports, amounted to one hundred and seventy sail; and the army, inclusive of officers, consisted of twelve thousand men, well disciplined and appointed. On the 2d of June, the fleet arrived in the Bay of Gabaras, seven miles to the westward of Louisbourg. Here the troops were disembarked, and General Amherst proceeded against Louisbourg, the siege of which he pushed forward with so much ability and vigour, that, on the 26th of July, the Chevalier Drucour, who commanded the fortress, made proposals to surrender. The terms of capitulation were soon settled, and the French garri-

son, consisting of six thousand men, laid down their arms.

Upon the surrender of Louisbourg, a division of the fleet, with a body of troops on board, under the command of Lord Rollo, was sent to take possession of the island of St. John; and Boscawen having appointed a squadron for the protection of Nova Scotia, he returned to England with four sail of the line. About the latter end of October he reached Scilly, where he fell in with a French squadron, consisting of six ships of the line; but, notwithstanding their superiority of number, the enemy chose to decline an action, into which, as their ships sailed considerably faster than his, he in vain endeavoured to force them.

Boscawen, as commander of the fleet in this expedition to Louisbourg, had no opportunity to bear a part in the military operations against that place; but the diligence, attention, and activity, which he shewed in performing the duties of his station, entitle him to share in the glory of the enterprise; more especially as these useful qualities were sufficiently conspicuous on this occasion, to obtain the unanimous and cordial thanks of the House of Commons, which, on the 6th of December 1758, were delivered to him, in his place in the house, by Mr. Onslow, the Speaker, in the following terms:

"Admiral Boscawen, the house have unanimously resolved, that their thanks should be given to you for the services you have done to the King and Country in North America; and, as it is my duty to convey their thanks to you, I wish I could do it in a manner suitable to the occasion, and as they ought to be given to you, now standing in your place, as a member of this house; but were I able to enumerate, and set forth in the best manner, the great and extensive advantages accruing to this nation from the conquest of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John's, I could only exhibit a repetition of what has already been, and is

the genuine and uniform sense and language of every part of the kingdom; their joy too, has been equal to their sentiments upon this interesting event; and in their sentiments and joy they have carried their gratitude also to you, Sir, as a principal instrument in these most important acquisitions; you are now, therefore, receiving the acknowledgments of the people, only in a more solemn way, by the voice, the general voice, of their representatives in parliament; the most honourable fame that any man can arrive at in this or any other country. It is on these occasions a national honour from a free people, ever cautiously conferred, in order to be the more esteemed, and be the greater reward; a reward which ought to be reserved for the most signal services to the state as well as for the most approved merit in it; such as this house has usually, and very lately, made their object of public thanks. The use I am persuaded you will make of this just testimony, and high reward of your services and merit, will be the preserving in your own mind a lasting impression of what the Commons of Great Britain are now tendering to you, and in a constant continuance of the zeal and ardour for the glory of your King and country, which have made you to deserve it. In obedience to the commands of the house, I do, with great pleasure to myself, give you the thanks of the house for the services you have done to your King and country in North America."

To which Admiral Boscawen made the following reply:

"Mr. Speaker,

"I am happy in having been able to do my duty, but have not words to express my sense of the distinguishing reward that has been conferred upon me by this house; nor can I enough thank you, Sir, for the polite and elegant manner in which you have been pleased to convey to me the resolution."

Having thus completely established his public character, he was soon honoured with a distinguishing mark of the favour of his sovereign, being made a member of the privy-council on the 2d of February 1759. Some weeks afterwards he was again appointed to the command of a fleet of fourteen sail of the line, and two frigates, destined for the Mediterranean. He sailed from St. Helen's on the 14th of April, and repaired to Toulon, with a view to watch the motions of the French fleet then lying at that port, under the command of M. De la Clue, and under orders to proceed to Brest, to join the grand fleet commanded by Conflans. To prevent the junction of these fleets, and to endeavour to discomfit that of De la Clue, were the principal objects of his instructions. He accordingly cruised off Toulon for some time, and, in order to force the French admiral to an engagement, tried every stratagem, and offered every provocation that his ingenuity could devise. But finding that De la Clue was not to be moved from his purpose by any artifice, Boscawen determined to put his patience to a stronger test and a more decisive trial. He, therefore, gave orders for the Culloden, Conqueror, and Jersey, three line of battle ships, to proceed to the entrance of the harbour, and to endeavour, either to cut out or destroy two of the enemy's ships, which lay moored there, under cover of the batteries. The execution of this hazardous and daring attempt was entrusted to Captain Smith Collis, an officer, whose dexterous intrepidity in the former war had conducted and accomplished a similar enterprise. On the present occasion he behaved with equal skill and gallantry; but the strength of the enemy's position rendered all his efforts ineffectual. When the English ships approached those of the enemy at the mouth of the harbour, the former were immediately assailed by a heavy fire, not only from the ships and fortifications, but from several masked batteries, on both sides of the entrance. The English sup-

ported this unequal contest with uncommon bravery, for upwards of three hours; but Captain Collis seeing no probability of any success, and finding his own ship almost entirely disabled, felt himself obliged to desist; and, having made the signal to the admiral for assistance, his ships were towed off by the boats of the fleet, from the midst of the enemy's fire.

In consequence of the damage sustained by the ships employed in this arduous service, Boscawen thought it prudent to repair to Gibraltar, in order to get them refitted. And the French admiral taking advantage of the absence of the British fleet, and hoping to elude the vigilance of its commander, put to sea with the resolution of passing the Straits, and proceeding to Brest. But the watchful prudence, and strenuous ardour of Boscawen, gloriously frustrated his design. On the evening of the 17th of August, the French fleet was descried from the Bay of Gibraltar. Boscawen instantly made the signal to chase, and in less than two hours, the English fleet was out of the bay. He pursued the enemy all night, and at two o'clock the next day, came up with them; when after an action of some hours, maintained on both sides with great valour, he obtained a complete victory; nearly one half of the French fleet being either captured or destroyed. Nor was this victory less important in its consequences, than brilliant in its attainment; for, by preventing the junction of the Toulon and Brest fleets, it effectually defeated the magnificent scheme of invading England, with which the French minister had for some time amused the military ardour and romantic spirit of his countrymen.

The detail of this memorable action, we shall give below in Admiral Boscawen's own words, taken from his public dispatch on the occasion.*

* "I acquainted you, says he, in my last, of my return to Gibraltar to refit. As soon as the ships were near ready, I ordered the Lyme and Gibraltar, the only frigates ready, the first to cruise

The object of the expedition to the Mediterranean being thus accomplished, Boscawen returned to England, where he was honoured with that distinction of

off Malaga, the last from Estepona to Ceuta Point, to look out, and give me timely notice of the enemy's approach.

On the 17th, at eight in the evening, the Gibraltar made the signal of their appearance, fourteen sail, on the Barbary shore, to the eastward of Ceuta. I got under sail as fast as possible, and was out of the bay before ten, with fourteen sail of the line, the Shannon frigate, and Ætna fireship. At day light, I saw the Gibraltar, and soon after, seven large ships lying to; but on our not answering their signals, they made sail from us. We had a fresh gale that brought us up with them fast till about noon, when it fell little wind. About half an hour past two, some of the headmost ships began to engage, but I could not get up to the Ocean till near four. In about half an hour, the Namur's mizen-mast, and both top-sail yards, were shot away. The enemy then made all the sail they could. I shifted my flag to the Newark; and soon after the Centaur, of seventy-four guns, struck.

I pursued all night, and in the morning of the 19th, saw only four sail standing in for the land, two of the best sailers having altered their course in the night, we were not above three miles from them, and not above five leagues from the shore, with very little wind. About nine, the Ocean ran among the breakers, and the three others anchored. I sent the Intrepid and America to destroy the Ocean. Captain Pratten having anchored, could not get in, but Captain Kirke performed that service alone. On his first firing at the Ocean, she struck, and Captain Kirke sent his officers on board. M. De la Clue, having one leg broke, and the other wounded, had been landed about half an hour; but they found the captain, M. Le Compte de Carne, and several officers and men on board. Captain Kirke, after taking them out, finding it impossible to bring the ship off, set her on fire. Captain Bentley, of the Warspight, was ordered against the Temeraire, of seventy-four guns, and brought her off with little damage, the officers and men all on board. At the same time, Vice-admiral Broderick, with his division, burnt the Redoubtable, her officers and men having quitted her, being bulged; they brought the Modeste, of sixty-four guns, off, very little damaged.

I have the pleasure to acquaint their lordships, that most of his Majesty's ships under my command, sailed better than those of the enemy.

Inclosed I send you a list of the French squadron found on board the Modeste.

Herewith you will also receive the number of the killed and wounded on board his Majesty's ships, referring their lordships for father particulars to Captain Buckle."

which a British sailor should be most ambitious: the spontaneous applause and thanks of his countrymen! And his Majesty, as a reward for his eminent services, appointed him a general of marines, with a salary of 3000*l.* a year.

Some months after his arrival, a complaint was preferred against him, for having caused some Dutch merchant ships to be searched, on suspicion of their being laden with warlike stores. He acknowledged his having done so, but justified the propriety of the measure in the letter given in the note.*

LIST OF THE FRENCH SQUADRON UNDER THE COMMAND OF M. DE LA CLUE.

L'Ocean, 80 guns, M. De la Clue; Le Redoubtable, 74 guns, M. De St. Agnan, burnt; Le Centaur, 74 guns, Sabran Grammont, taken; Le Souveraine, 74 guns, Panat; Le Guerrier, 74 guns, Rochemore, escaped; Le Temeraire, 74 guns, Castillon L'Aine, taken; Le Fantasque, 64 guns, Du Lac Monvert, taken; Le Lion, 64 guns, Colbert Turgis; Le Triton, 60 guns, Venel; Le Fier, 50 guns, Marquisan; L'Oriflamme, 50 guns, Dabon, lost company coming through the Straits; La Chimere, 26 guns, Sauchet; La Minerva, 24 guns, Le Chev. D'Opede; La Gracieuse, 24 guns, Le Chev. De Fabry, lost company coming through the Straits.

On board the English fleet there were 56 killed, and 196 wounded.

* LETTER TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY.

SIR,

In answer to your's of the 4th instant, concerning a memorial of Messrs. Hopp, Boreel, and Meerman, complaining, that I caused some Dutch merchantmen to be searched near Cape Palos, who were under convoy of the Prince William man of war, Captain Betting; and farther alleging, that, notwithstanding the representations of this captain, I detained some of them; I must observe, that having certain advice, that the Dutch and Swedes carried cannon, powder, and other warlike stores to the enemy, I gave particular orders to the captains of all the ships under my command, carefully to examine all the vessels of those nations bound to the ports of France. On the day mentioned in the memorial, being near Cape Palos, I made the signal for the Warspight, Swiftsure, America, and Jersey, to intercept some vessels then in sight, and which, on their approach, were found to be some Dutch ships, under convoy of the Prince William, bound to

In the month of January 1760 he was sent with a small squadron to Quiberon Bay, to observe the motions of the enemy, and to endeavour to fall in with Conflans, who had again put to sea with the few ships with which he had effected his retreat, after the glorious victory obtained over him by Lord Hawke. But the weather was so stormy, that he found it unsafe to keep his station, and was, therefore, obliged to return to Spithead. Eager, however, to complete the destruction of the French fleet, he sailed a second time on the 6th of February; but meeting again with violent and adverse gales of wind, he was compelled to put into Plymouth, several of the ships of his squadron having sustained considerable damage. During the following summer, he and Sir Edward Hawke alternately commanded the fleet stationed in Quiberon Bay; but Conflans prudently remained in port, and these gallant officers were never fortunate enough to attain the full accomplishment of their wishes.

This was the last public service in which Boscawen was employed. Being in a bad state of health, he retired, in the autumn of 1760, to his country seat at Hatchland's Park, Surry, where he died of a bilious

different ports in the Mediterranean, particularly two to Marseilles and two to Toulon. They were as strictly searched, as could be done at sea, in the space of an hour, but as no pretext was found for detaining them, they were suffered to proceed on their voyage; and the captains assured me that every thing passed with great civility and good order. I never received any complaint on this subject from Captain Betting, nor indeed had he an opportunity to make me any, as he continued his course to the Mediterranean, and I steered for Gibraltar, from whence I came soon after to England. As it is well known, that the Dutch merchants assist the king's enemies with warlike stores, I think I did no more than my duty, in searching the vessels bound to those ports.

I would have answered your letter sooner, but I was willing to inform myself first, from the captains, who are now in England, whether any thing had happened on occasion of this search, which they had omitted to mention in their report to me.

E. BOSCAWEN.

fever, on the 10th of January, 1761, in the 50th year of his age.

His body was conveyed to Cornwall, and interred amongst his ancestors, in the parish church of St. Michael, at Penkevel, where a monument, was erected to his memory.

GEORGE LORD ANSON,

ADMIRAL AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF.

George Anson was descended from an ancient and respectable family in Staffordshire, and was born at Shugborough manor, in the parish of Colwich, in that county, in the year 1697; being the third son of William Anson, Esq. by Elizabeth, eldest daughter and coheir of Robert Carrier, Esq. of Wirksworth, in Derbyshire. His inclination leading him to the navy, he went to sea, at an early age, and in 1716, he was made second lieutenant of his Majesty's ship, the Hampshire, by Sir John Norris, commander in chief of a squadron sent to the Baltic; which promotion was confirmed by the Board of Admiralty. In the next year, he was again in the Baltic, in the fleet commanded by Sir George Byng; and, at this time, he had an opportunity, which pleased him much, of seeing, on the Danish shore, the illustrious Czar Peter of Russia, and the famous Catharine, who was afterwards publickly married by that prince, and crowned as his empress. On the 15th of March, 1717-18, Mr. Anson was appointed second lieutenant of the Montagu, one of the ships of Sir George Byng's squadron, in the expedition to Sicily, and he was present in the celebrated action near that island, by which the Spanish fleet was effectually destroyed, and the designs of the king of Spain against Sicily, received a very considerable check. In 1722, he

was preferred to be master and commander of the Weazel sloop.

He was raised, in February, 1723-4, to the rank of post-captain, and to the command of the Scarborough man of war. Soon after this appointment, he was ordered to South Carolina, where he continued above three years; and during his residence in this province, he erected a town (Anson Bourgh), and gave name to a county, which is still called Anson county. Being ordered home, in October, 1727, he returned to England, in the following spring, and was paid off, in May 1728; before the expiration of which year, he was appointed captain of the Garland man of war, and went out in her to South Carolina; whence he was ordered back, in the following year, and the ship was put out of commission. However, having the good fortune to be in favour with Lord Torrington and Sir Charles Wager, successively, first Lords of the Admiralty, he did not remain long out of employment; for in 1731, the command of the Diamond, one of the Downs squadron, was bestowed upon him; which command he held but about three months, the Diamond being then paid off. On the 25th of January, 1731-2, he was again called into public service, and appointed captain of the Squirrel man of war, in which ship he was ordered, in the following April, for South Carolina, where he continued till the spring of the year 1735, when he returned to England; and, in the month of June, he was paid off.

In these several employments, Mr. Anson conducted himself with an ability and discretion which gave general satisfaction; and after his last return from South Carolina, he stayed at home between two and three years; it being the 9th of December 1737, when he was put into the command of the Centurion. In this ship, he was ordered, in February following, to the coast of Guinea; from which station he returned to his own country, by the course of Barba-

does and South Carolina, on the 10th of July, 1739; having executed with great prudence and fidelity the directions of government. Mr. Anson's conduct, in his various situations and employments, had produced so favourable an opinion of his capacity and spirit, that when, in the war which broke out with Spain in 1739, it was determined to attack the American settlements of the Spaniards in the great Pacific Ocean, and by this means to affect them in their most sensible parts, he was, from the beginning, fixed upon to be the commander of the fleet which was designed for that purpose.

As the history of this expedition (which laid the foundation of his future fortune), has, in consequence of the excellent manner in which it was written by the late Mr. Robins, and the curious and interesting nature of the subject, been more read than almost any other which hath ever appeared, and as we already in the former volume presented the reader with a pretty full account of it, it is not necessary to give a detail of it here.

It will be sufficient, to relate, in general, that he departed from St. Helen's on the 18th of September, 1740, at the head of a squadron consisting of five men of war, a sloop of war, and two victualling ships; that he stopped first at Madeira, then at the island of St. Catherine, on the coast of Brasil, and next at Port St. Julian, in Patagonia; that he encountered prodigious difficulties in doubling Cape Horn; that, in this perilous passage, the fleet was separated, and part of it never joined him again; that, at length, he arrived at the Island of Juan Fernandes; that from thence he proceeded to Peru, took the town of Paita, anchored a few days at Quibo, sailed to the coast of Mexico, and formed the design of intercepting the Acapulco ship; that, after stopping awhile at the harbour of Chequetan, he determined to cross the Pacific Ocean; that, at last, his squadron was reduced to his own single ship, the Centurion; that he made

some stay at Tinian, one of the Ladrones or Marian islands, from which he went to Macao; that sailing back from Macao, in quest of the Manilla galleon, he had the happiness of meeting with it, and of taking it, on the 30th of June, 1743; that, after this enterprise, he returned to Canton, whence he embarked for England, by the Cape of Good Hope; that having completed his voyage round the world, he came safe to an anchor at Spithead, on the 15th of June, 1744; and that he executed the whole of the undertaking with singular honour and advantage to himself, and the officers and people under him, though from original errors and defects in the embarkation, and from causes in which he was in no wise concerned, the grand design of the expedition was not fully answered.

Before Commodore Anson set sail upon this expedition, he took care to furnish himself with the printed journals of the voyages to the South Seas, and the best manuscript accounts he could procure of all the Spanish settlements upon the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, which he afterwards carefully compared with the examinations of his prisoners, and the information of several intelligent persons who fell into his hands; and, through the whole enterprise, he acted with a remarkable discretion, and with a calmness which particularly distinguishes his character. His humanity was displayed at the Island of Juan Fernandes, in his assisting with his own labour, and obliging the officers, without distinction, to assist, in carrying the sick sailors, in their hammocks, to shore. At the same place, he sowed lettuces, carrots, and other garden plants, and set, in the woods, a great variety of plumb, apricot, and peach stones, for the better accommodation of those who should hereafter touch there. From a like regard to future navigators, Commodore Anson was particularly industrious in directing the roads and coasts to be surveyed, and other observations to be made; for he

well knew, by his own experience, the want of these materials, and of how great consequence they might prove to any British vessels, which, in succeeding times, might be employed in those seas. By the wise and proper use which he made of the intelligence he had obtained from some Spanish captures, the Commodore was encouraged to form the design of attacking the town of Paita; and his conduct, in that attack, added much to his reputation.

Such was the excellent discipline to which he accustomed his men, that, in the taking of the town, only one man was found, who was known to have so far neglected his duty as to get drunk, and after the attack, when a spirit of jealousy and envy arose about the distribution of the plunder, he manifested his prudence and equity in allaying this spirit, and his liberality in giving up his own share. But there was nothing from which Mr. Anson derived greater personal credit, or which reflected greater glory upon the English nation, than his behaviour to his prisoners in general, and particularly to some ladies, who had fallen into his hands; whom he not only protected with the utmost care and attention from every sort of molestation, but treated with uncommon delicacy and indulgence. Though his force was very much impaired by the sickness and death of great numbers of his men, and by the separation or loss of the larger part of his squadron, yet we find that he was always intent upon contriving some scheme or other, by which, if possible, the design of his expedition might be answered; and when no purpose was likely to be effectual, but the taking of the Acapulco ship, he pursued that plan with the greatest sagacity and perseverance.

In no instance was the fortitude of his mind put to a severer trial, than when the Centurion was driven out to sea, from the uninhabited island of Tinian; himself, many of the officers, and part of the crew being left on shore; but even in this gloomy and dis-

consolate situation, he preserved his usual composure and steadiness, though he could not be without his share of inward disquietude. He calmly applied to every measure which was likely to keep up the courage of his men, and to facilitate their departure from the island. He personally engaged in the most laborious part of the work which was necessary to the constructing of a vessel for this purpose; and it was only upon the pleasing and unexpected news of the return of the Centurion, that, throwing down his axe, he by his joy broke through, for the first time, the equable and unvaried character which he had hitherto preserved.

When he was at Macao, Commodore Anson exerted great spirit and address in procuring the necessary aid from the Chinese, for the refitting of his ship; and in the scheme for taking the Manilla Galleon, and in the actual taking of it, he displayed united wisdom and courage: nor did the usual calmness of his mind forsake him on a most trying occasion; when, in the moment of victory, the Centurion was dangerously on fire near the powder-room. During his subsequent stay at Canton, he acted, in all respects, with the greatest spirit, and firmly maintained the privileges and honour of the British flag. The perils with which he had been so often threatened, pursued him to the last; for, on his arrival in England, he found that he had sailed through the midst of a French fleet then cruising in the Channel, from which he had, the whole time, been concealed by a fog. Thus was his expedition finished at the end of three years and nine months; "after having, by its event," says the writer of his voyage, "strongly evinced this important truth, that though prudence, intrepidity, and peseverance united, are not exempted from the blows of adverse fortune, yet, in a long series of transactions, they usually rise superior to its power, and, in the end, rarely fail of proving successful."

A few days after his return to his own country, Mr. Anson was made a rear-admiral of the blue; and in a very short time, he was chosen member of parliament for Heydon in Yorkshire. In 1744, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the Admiralty; and in the following year he was made a rear-admiral of the white. In 1746, he was raised to the rank of vice-admiral; and in the latter end of this year, and the beginning of the next, he commanded the squadron in the Channel service; and nothing, perhaps, would have frustrated the success of this expedition, but the accidental intelligence which was given by the master of a Dutch vessel to the Duke D'Anville's fleet, of Admiral Anson's station and intention.

Early in the ensuing spring, however, he had an opportunity of rendering a very signal service to this country; for, being then on board the Prince George, of ninety guns, with Rear-admiral Warren, in the Devonshire, and twelve ships more under his command, he intercepted, off Cape Finisterre, a considerable fleet, bound from France to the East and West Indies, laden with merchandise, treasure, and warlike stores, and took six men of war, and four East Indiamen, not one of the enemy's vessels of war escaping. By this successful exploit he defeated the pernicious designs of two hostile expeditions, and made a considerable addition to the force and riches of our own kingdom. Very soon after this event, his Majesty King George II. in consideration of Mr. Anson's eminent services, was pleased to raise him to the honour of an English peerage, by the style and title of Lord Anson, Baron of Soberton, in the county of Southampton; and his lordship made choice of a motto, very happily suited to the dangers he had gone through, and the successes he had met with, "*Nil desperandum.*"

In 1748, Lord Anson married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Philip Lord Hardwicke, at that time lord high chancellor of Great Britain, which lady

died, without issue, in the year 1760. His lordship had frequently the honour of convoying the late king from England to Holland. The first time was in the year 1748; and ever after he constantly attended his Majesty on his going abroad, and on his return to this kingdom. In 1749, his lordship was made vice-admiral of Great Britain; an appointment that is more of a civil than a military nature, but which, nevertheless, was always given to a military man. In 1751, he was preferred to be first commissioner of the Admiralty; and, in the years 1752 and 1755, he was one of the lords justices of the kingdom, during his Majesty's absence. On the 16th of November, 1756, Lord Anson, upon a change in the administration, resigned his post as first commissioner of the Admiralty. On the 24th of February, 1757, he was made an admiral; and, on the 2d of July, he was again placed at the head of the Admiralty board, where he continued during the remainder of his life. He came in with his old friends, the duke of Newcastle and the earl of Hardwicke, and in the most honourable manner; for he renewed his seat with the concurrence of every individual in the ministry, Mr. Pitt resuming the seals as secretary of state, and with the particular approbation of King George II. All the rest of his conduct, as first commissioner of the Admiralty, was crowned with success, under the most glorious administration which this country ever saw.

The last time that Lord Anson commanded at sea was in the year 1758, to cover the expedition against the coast of France. Being then admiral of the white, and having hoisted his flag on board the Royal George of one hundred guns, he sailed from Spithead on the 1st of June, with a formidable fleet, Sir Edward Hawke serving under him; and by cruising continually before Brest, he protected the descents which were made that summer at St. Maloe's, Cherburg, and other places. The French fleet not ven-

turing to come out, he kept his own squadron and seamen in constant exercise; a thing, which, in his opinion, had been too much disregarded. On the 30th of July, 1761, his lordship was raised to the dignity of admiral and commander in chief of the fleet; and in a few days he sailed from Harwich, in the Charlotte yacht, to convoy her present Majesty to England; whom he landed, after a rough and tedious passage, on the 7th of September. In February 1762, he went to Portsmouth with the queen's brother, Prince Charles of Mecklenburgh, to shew him the arsenal, and the fleet which was then upon the point of sailing, under the command of Sir George Pocock, for the Havannah. In attending the prince, he caught a violent cold, that was accompanied with a gouty disorder, under which he languished two or three months. This cold, at length, settled upon his lungs, and was the immediate occasion of his death, which happened on the 6th of June, 1762. He died at his seat at Moor Park, in Hertfordshire, and was buried in the family-vault at Colwich.

Besides the other honours we have mentioned, Lord Anson was a member of his Majesty's privy-council, one of the elder brethen of the Trinity House, and a governor of the Charter House. He was very assiduous at the Admiralty-board, and remarkably quick and ready in making naval dispositions of every kind, and in appropriating the proper strength and proper sort of ships to the different services. He was pleased to see his table filled with the gentlemen of the Navy; and he was a true friend and patron to men of real merit and capacity in the service. Lord Anson left his whole fortune to his brother, Thomas Anson, Esq. who was member of parliament for Litchfield; and, upon his decease, the united fortunes of the family devolved to his nephew, by his eldest sister, George Adams, Esq. who assumed the name of Anson.

As an officer and a man, the memory of Lord Anson is entitled to the utmost veneration and respect.

As an officer, he was cool and steady in the execution of his duty, of an enterprising spirit, yet patient under difficulties, and endowed with a courage that no dangers could dismay. He had the welfare of his country truly at heart, and served it with a zeal that has been equalled by few, and surpassed by none. Among the many services that will immortalize his name, his discreet and fortunate choice of his officers was none of the least, as will readily be allowed, when it is mentioned, that Sir Charles Saunders, Captain Philip Saumarez, Sir Piercy Brett, Sir Peter Dennis, and Lord Keppel, were his lieutenants in the Centurion. As a man, he was warm and steady in his friendships, and particularly careful of the interests of those whom he had taken under his protection, if they continued worthy of his patronage. In his disposition he was mild and unassuming, and could boast of no great acquaintance with the world, but on professional subjects his judgment was quick and comprehensive; and Mr. Pitt allowed him to be one of the ablest colleagues of his glorious administration. Of good fortune, no man had a larger share than Lord Anson, but it should be remarked, that scarcely any man deserved it more; his successes were not the result of blind chance, but of well-concerted and well executed designs. On the whole, we may safely pronounce our hero to be one of the most illustrious characters that our navy has produced, and one whose name will descend with honour to the latest posterity.

SIR GEORGE POCOCK, K.B.

ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE.

Sir George Pocock was born on the 16th of March, 1706, and was the son of the Reverend Thomas Pocock, chaplain to Greenwich Hospital, by ——— his wife, daughter of James Master, Esq. and

Joice his wife, only daughter of Sir Christopher Turner Knight, one of the barons of the Exchequer in the reign of Charles II. He entered into the navy in the twelfth year of his age, and served under his uncle Sir George Byng, afterwards Viscount Torrington, in the expedition to the Mediterranean in 1718, which terminated so highly to the honour of the British arms; thirteen Spanish ships, three of them carrying the flags of admirals, being taken or destroyed off the coast of Calabria, and the island of Sicily being preserved.

Having passed through the subordinate ranks of his profession with credit and approbation, in the month of August, 1732, our hero was appointed first lieutenant of the Namur, and on the 1st of August, 1738, when a war was threatened with Spain, he was promoted to the rank of post captain, and received the command of the Aldborough frigate, in which ship he immediately sailed to the Mediterranean, to join the squadron under Rear-admiral Haddock. Towards the latter end of the year 1739, war was declared against Spain, and the squadron in which Captain Pocock served had the good fortune to make several rich captures. Among these were two ships from the Caraccas supposed to be worth two millions of dollars, besides several of very great, though inferior value, and a considerable number of privateers. Captain Pocock continued to serve in the Mediterranean, or on the coasts of Spain, till the year 1741, when he returned home, and in the month of August, 1742, was appointed to the Woolwich, but on what station he was employed is not known.

In the year 1744, he was captain of the Sutherland, of fifty guns, and early in the ensuing spring was ordered to proceed to the East Indies, with four of the Company's ships under his protection. Of his transactions in this quarter we are not in possession of any interesting particulars, as the complexion of affairs in the East Indies at that time was passive and

tranquil; but probably his time was judiciously employed in acquiring a knowledge of the navigation of the Indian seas, afterwards the scene of a part of his splendid achievements.

On his return from this station, our hero was ordered to the West Indies, where, on the death of Commodore Legge, which happened on the 19th of September, 1747, he succeeded to the chief command on the Barbadoes station, and towards the latter end of the year 1748, greatly distinguished himself by his activity and the judgment with which he stationed his cruisers, for the purpose of intercepting the French convoy from Europe, by means of which, nearly forty of the enemy's vessels were captured by himself or the cruisers under his orders. The war being terminated soon after these events, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Captain Pocock remained unemployed till the end of the year 1754, when he was appointed to the Cumberland, of sixty-six guns, in which ship he sailed to the East Indies, making part of a small squadron under the command of Rear-admiral Watson. The British empire in India was at this period in its infancy, and assailed, by various enemies, native and European. The first operation of the fleet was against the fortress of Geriah, the residence of the famous pirate Angria, which, after an obstinate resistance, was reduced. On the 4th of February, 1755, Mr. Pocock was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the white, and on the 4th of June in the ensuing year, to be rear of the red squadron. He assisted at the recovery of Calcutta from the Nabob Surajah Dowlah, and afterwards served at the reduction of Chandernagore, the principal French settlement in the province of Bengal, and a place of great strength, situated a little higher on the River Hughley than Calcutta.

On the death of Admiral Watson, which happened at Calcutta on the 16th of August, 1757, a short time after the reduction of Chandernagore, our hero suc-

ceeded to the command in chief of his Majesty's ships in the East Indies; and on the 31st of January, 1758, he was farther promoted to be vice-admiral of the red. The season now approaching, when it was highly probable, that a French squadron would appear in the Indian seas, Admiral Pocock took every precaution to be prepared to give them a warm reception. In the month of March he was joined in Madras Road by Commodore Stevens, with a reinforcement from England, consisting of four ships of the line and a frigate.

With this force under his command, the admiral put to sea from Madras Road on the 17th of April, in search of the French squadron which he had intelligence was on the coast, or expected daily to arrive, he steered first for Negapatam, and afterwards for Fort St. David's, where he discovered, on the morning of the 29th, about half past nine o'clock, seven ships getting under sail from the road, and two of which were cruising in the offing. This was the squadron that the British admiral was in search of, and the strange ships not answering his private signal, he immediately ordered a general chase. The enemy, under the command of the Count D'Aché, one of the most skilful officers that the French marine has ever produced, formed the line of battle a-head on the starboard tack, standing to the eastward under their topsails, with the wind nearly south.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, the van of the British squadron being then nearly within random-shot of the enemy, the admiral bore down on the Zodiaque, of seventy-four guns, which ship carried the flag of the French commander in chief. After receiving the fire of the different ships a-stern of the Count D'Aché, as well as of the French commander himself, the British admiral would not permit a gun to be fired from his ship, until he had got within pistol-shot of his antagonist. He then opened

a dreadful fire on the French leader, and made the signal for close action. This was promptly and gallantly obeyed by the van of the British squadron, but the Cumberland, Newcastle, and Weymouth, the ships forming the rear, were a great distance a-stern, and appeared remarkably dilatory in getting up. This had nearly occasioned the British admiral to be surrounded by the French fleet, when the captains of the ships above-mentioned, to retrieve their error, made sail, and came to his assistance. The French commander perceiving that the rear of the British line were now inclined to do their duty, and probably fearing the event of the contest, if he continued to fight, broke through the line, and put before the wind under a press of sail, the rest of the fleet following his example, and discharging their broadsides in succession at the British admiral as they passed him.

The signal was now made for a general chase, but the British ships which had been in the action, were by this time extremely disabled, particularly the admiral's ship, the Yarmouth, so that he could not possibly keep up with the squadron, and the French having received a reinforcement of a line of battle ship and a frigate, and evening coming on, he thought proper to recall his ships, and haul close on a wind, in the hope of weathering the enemy during the night, and by that means compelling them to renew the engagement in the morning. The Queenborough frigate was ordered a-head to keep the enemy in sight, and make the necessary signals to the squadron, but the French neither showing lights, nor making any signals, effected their escape, and at day-break were totally out of sight.

The loss sustained by the British squadron in this encounter amounted to twenty-nine killed, and eighty-nine wounded. The French sustained a more severe loss, near six hundred being killed and wounded, and the Bien Aimé, one of their finest ships, mounting

fifty-eight guns, but pierced for seventy-four, received so much damage in the engagement, that the crew, to save their lives, were obliged to run her on shore a little to the southward of Alamparva, where she was totally lost.

The French retreated to Pondicherry, and the British squadron returned to Madras, after having cruised some days without being able to meet with the enemy. The ships were here refitted with the greatest alacrity, so that by the 10th of May the admiral was enabled to put to sea. His object was, the relief of Fort St. David, which at this time was besieged by the French, but contrary winds, and a strong current from the southward, prevented him from making much progress, and on the 6th of June he received the disagreeable intelligence that the place had been obliged to surrender. On this the admiral returned to Madras to victual and water his ships, and on his arrival he caused the conduct of those captains whose behaviour he deemed reprehensible, to be inquired into by a court-martial, which sentenced Captain Vincent to be dismissed from the command of the Weymouth, Captain George Legge to be cashiered, and Captain Brereton to lose a year's rank as post captain.

This disagreeable, though necessary, duty being performed, the admiral sailed from Madras on the 25th of July, and the next day took a snow, and burnt seven chilingoes belonging to the enemy. On the evening of the 27th, being within three leagues of Pondicherry, he discovered the French squadron at anchor, consisting of eight ships of the line and a frigate. Next morning the Count D'Aché got under sail, standing to the southward, in hopes of being able to avoid the British squadron, from the advantage he possessed in having the land breeze. The admiral ordered a general chase, but the French ships being better sailers, he was not able to get up with them, and having pursued them as far as Porto-

Novo, he lost sight of them. On the 30th he drove on shore, and destroyed a vessel bound to Pondicherry, laden with ammunition and military stores, which proved a serious loss to the garrison of that place, as they were in great want of the articles with which she was freighted, and had not the means of obtaining a second supply.

On the 1st of August the admiral was once more gratified with the sight of the enemy, but though he used every endeavour to bring them to action, and by crowding sail had gained on them, the cautious conduct of the Count D'Aché, and the superiority of his ships in point of sailing, prevented him from being able to bring on an engagement, and he again lost sight of the foe. The admiral, however, persevered in keeping his station, and getting sight of the enemy again, was fortunate enough to bring them to action on the 3d of August.

The loss sustained by the English in this encounter amounted to thirty-one killed, and one hundred and sixteen wounded, among whom were Commodore Stevens and Captain Martin; the loss of the enemy was much more severe, upwards of five hundred and fifty men being killed and wounded, among the latter of whom were the French commander-in-chief and his captain. The enemy fled to Pondicherry Road, and from thence, having repaired their damages, to the Mauritius, and Admiral Pocock repaired to Bombay, where he remained during the monsoons.

The season of danger being past, the admiral, who was indefatigable in his exertions to put his squadron in the best state of equipment, sailed from Bombay on the 17th of April, 1759, and arrived off the Island of Ceylon before the French had taken their departure from the Mauritius. Here he continued to cruise till the 1st of September, when want of water obliged him to quit his station, and proceed to Trincomale. The next day the French fleet was disco-

vered by the Revenge, a frigate in the service of the East India Company, which the admiral had directed to cruise in the enemy's track, in order to obtain the earliest intelligence of their approach. The Revenge having communicated to the British admiral, that the enemy's squadron was in sight, he immediately made the signal for a general chase, and stood towards the foe, under a press of sail. The Count D'Aché, though he possessed a superiority of two ships of the line, according to his usual practice, thought proper to decline an engagement, nor could Admiral Pocock bring him to an action, though every manœuvre was tried which the most expert seamanship could dictate. The hostile fleets continued three days in sight of each other, but never within gun-shot, and the weather proving hazy, the French at length effected their escape. Disappointed in his hopes of an engagement, by the disappearance of the enemy, Admiral Pocock steered directly for Pondicherry, to which place he conjectured they were bound, and where he fortunately arrived eight hours before the French admiral. The particulars of the action which ensued, and his subsequent transactions, we cannot give with more propriety than in the gallant admiral's own words :

"I arrived off Pondicherry on the 8th, early in the morning, and saw no ship in the road, but at one in the afternoon, we discovered the enemy to the south east, and by three, counted thirteen sail. We were then standing to the southward, with the sea breeze, and to prevent their passing us, kept a good look out the following day. At two in the afternoon of the 9th, the wind springing up, I made the signal for a general chase, and at four, their squadron appeared to be formed in a line of battle abreast, steering right down upon us. In the evening, I ordered the Revenge to keep, during the night, between our squadron and the enemy's, to observe their motions. On the 10th, at six in the morning, the body of the

French squadron bore south-east by south, distant eight or nine miles, and was formed in a line of battle ahead, on the starboard tack. We continued bearing down on them in a line of battle abreast, with the wind about N. W. by W. At five minutes past ten, the enemy wore, and formed the line ahead upon the larboard tack. At five minutes after eleven, we did the same, and kept edging down upon them. At ten minutes past two, in the afternoon the Yarmouth being nearly abreast of the French admiral's second in the rear, and within musket shot, M. D'Aché made the signal for battle. I immediately did the same; on which both squadrons began to cannonade each other with great fury, and continued hotly engaged until ten minutes after four, when the enemy's rear began to give way, the Sunderland having got up some time before, and engaged their sternmost ship; their centre very soon after did the same. Their van made sail, stood on, and with their whole squadron, bore away, and steered to the S. S. E. with all the sail they could make. We were in no condition to pursue them, the Tyger having her mizen-mast, and main-top-mast shot away, and appearing to be greatly disabled. The Newcastle was much damaged in her masts, yards, and rigging: and the Cumberland and Salisbury in our rear, were not in a condition to make sail. The Yarmouth had her fore-top-sail yard shot away in the slings: and the Grafton and Elizabeth, though none of their masts and yards fell, were greatly disabled in them and their rigging; so that the Weymouth and Sunderland were the only ships that had not suffered, because they could not get properly into action, occasioned by M. D'Aché's beginning to engage before they could close, so that by those means, they were thrown out of the engagement, seven of our ships, only, sustaining the whole fire of the enemy's fleet till near the conclusion, and then no more than eight.

"The enemy continued their retreat to the south-

ward until dark, at which time I ordered the Revenge to keep between us and the enemy, to observe their motions, and brought to with the squadron on the larboard tack, in order that the disabled ships might repair their damages. At day-light, in the morning, we saw the enemy to the S. S. E. lying to on the larboard tack, as we were about four leagues distant, the wind being about west. The enemy, upon seeing our squadron, immediately wore, and brought to on the other tack, continuing so until the evening; when their distance was so much encreased, we could scarcely discover them from the main-top. At this time, the wind coming to the eastward, I made the signal, wore, and stood under an easy sail to the N. W. the Sunderland having the Newcastle in tow; the Weymouth the Tyger; and Elizabeth the Cumberland. On the 12th, at day-light, we saw the ships in Negapatam road, and seeing nothing of the enemy, at ten o'clock in the forenoon I anchored with the squadron about three leagues to the southward of that road, and in the evening, dispatched the Revenge to Madras, with letters to the governor and council. On the 25th, in the evening, we weighed and stood into the road, and having anchored, continued repairing our damages, and refitting the squadron until the 26th, by which time, having put the ships in as good condition for service, as the time permitted, I weighed at five o'clock that morning, stood to the northward, and at six was joined by the Revenge from Madras, who brought sixty-three men belonging to the Bridgewater, and Triton, which had been exchanged at Pondicherry, and ten men impressed from the Calcutta Indiaman, which I ordered on board the Tyger and Newcastle, those ships having suffered most in their men.

"On the 27th, at day-light in the morning, I was close in with Pondicherry road, where the French squadron was lying at anchor in a line of battle. As attacking both the ships and fort at the same time did

not suit our condition, I made the signal for the squadron to draw into a line of battle ahead, upon the starboard tack, the wind being off shore, and about W. S. W. We lay with our top-sails to the mast, just keeping a proper steerage way for the line to continue well-formed. Being in this situation, the French admiral made the signal, at six o'clock, to heave a peake; in an hour after to weigh; and by the time all their squadron, which consisted of eleven sail of the line and two frigates, was under sail, it was near ten o'clock, at which time, we were to leeward of them, as before-mentioned, expecting they would bear down directly and engage. But instead of taking that step, M. D'Achè made the signal for his squadron to keep close to the wind, and also to make sail, stretching away to the southward in the line of battle ahead; by which method of acting they increased their distance from about a random shot at day-light, to near four leagues to windward at sun-set. Had they cut or slipped their cables on first discovering us, we must have come to an action by seven o'clock; and after they had got under sail, had they bore directly down, might have been close alongside by eleven. Finding, by their manner of working, a great disinclination to come to a second action, I desired the opinion of the rear-admiral and captains, who all agreed, that as the present condition of the squadron would not permit us to follow them to the southward, it would be most advisable to proceed to Madras; accordingly we anchored here the 28th in the evening.

"I have not been able to obtain a certain account of the enemy's loss, but it is reported by a deserter, that they had 1500 men killed and wounded, and some of their ships very much shattered. They left Pondicherry road the 1st instant, in the evening, having on board M. Soupiere, Brigadier Lally, Colonel Kennedy, who has almost lost his sight, and a lady, named Madame De Veaux; from whence it may be con-

cluded, that either their whole squadron or a part, is gone to the islands. It is said they brought no troops, but landed, before their departure, four hundred European seamen, and volunteers, with two hundred Caffrees. They brought very little money; but the diamonds which were taken in the Grantham, were left at Pondicherry.

"Our loss is very considerable, though greatly inferior to the enemy's. We had one hundred and eighteen men slain in action, sixty-six have died since of their wounds, one hundred and twenty-two remain dangerously, and two hundred and sixty-three slightly, wounded; so that our whole number killed and wounded, amounts to five hundred and sixty-nine men. Among the slain, are Captain Michie, who commanded the Newcastle; Captain Gore, of the marines, and Lieutenant Redshaw, both of the Newcastle: Lieutenant Elliot, of the Tyger; the master of the Yarmouth, and boatswain of the Elizabeth; the gunner of the Tyger is since dead of his wounds. Captain Somerset, who commanded the Cumberland, is wounded in one of his ancles, but is in a fair way of recovery. Captain Brereton received a contusion in his head, which is now well. All the officers and seamen, in general, behaved with the greatest bravery and spirit during the action; and by the vigour and constancy of their fire, obliged the enemy to retreat, notwithstanding their great superiority."

The loss sustained by the British squadron in this encounter best speaks how severe an engagement it must have been. The following year, Admiral Pocock returned to England, leaving the command in the Indian Seas with Rear-admiral Stevens. In 1761, he was honoured with the Order of the Bath, as a reward for his important services in India, and the East India Company placed his statue in marble in their hall. The same year he was promoted to be Admiral of the blue, but received no appointment till the month of January, 1762, when he hoisted his

flag on board the Namur, of 90 guns, and shortly afterwards sailed on an expedition to the West Indies.

This was the memorable expedition against the Havannah, the capital of Cuba, one of the most daring and best-conducted enterprises that was ever undertaken by any nation. To prevent those apprehensions on the part of the court of Spain, which the equipment of a powerful fleet from England would have given rise to, Sir George Pocock sailed from St. Helen's with only four ships of the line, one frigate, and some transports, on board which were embarked four regiments of infantry. On his arrival in the West Indies, he took upon him the command in chief of his Majesty's ships in that quarter, which composed a formidable fleet, consisting of twenty-six ships of the line, fifteen frigates, and a considerable number of sloops of war and bombs, making altogether a fleet of more than fifty vessels of war. After a very fortunate passage through the old Straits of Bahama, a navigation of considerable difficulty, this formidable armament arrived off the Havannah on the 6th of June, 1762. The land forces, under the command of the Earl of Albemarle, brother to Admiral Keppel, amounting to upwards of ten thousand men, were landed the next day, and the joint operations of the army and navy were pushed with vigour, and were completely successful.

The following letter announced the surrender of the Havannah, with some particulars respecting the siege :

Sir,

I desire you will acquaint their lordships, that it is with the greatest pleasure I congratulate them on the great success of his Majesty's arms, in the reduction of the Havannah, with all its dependencies.

The Moro fort was taken by storm the 30th of last month, after a siege of twenty-nine days, during

which time, the enemy lost above a thousand men, and a brave officer, in Don Lewis De Velasco, captain of one of their men of war, and governor in the Moro, mortally wounded in defending the colours, sword in hand, in the storm. And, on the 11th instant the governor of the Havannah desired to capitulate for the town, which was granted, the articles agreed to, and signed and we were put in possession of the Punta and Land Gate the 14th. With this great and important acquisition to his Majesty, have also fallen twelve large men of war of the line, three of which were sunk, with a company's ship, in the entrance of the harbour, nine are fit for sea, and two upon the stocks; a blow that I hope will prove more capital to the enemy, as they receive it so early in the war, and I may venture to say, will leave all their settlements in this part of the world, exposed to any attempts that may be thought proper to be made on them. But, however trivial, with the possession of the Havannah, it may appear, yet I cannot help mentioning the discovery and possessing the harbour of Mariel, about seven leagues to the leeward of this, and which we had made ourselves masters of, though the enemy had endeavoured to hinder it, by sinking ships in the entrance, and we had lately sent nearly one hundred transports, with some men of war there, for security against the season, in which we are already advanced.

It will be needless, as almost impossible, for me to express or describe that perfect harmony that has uninterruptedly subsisted between the fleet and army, from our first setting out. Indeed it is doing injustice to both, to mention them as two corps, since each has endeavoured, with the most constant and cheerful emulation, to render it but one, uniting in the same principles of honour and glory for their king and country's service. I am glad, on this occasion, to do justice to the distinguished merit of Commodore Keppel, who executed the service under his

direction, on the Coximar side, with the greatest spirit, activity, and diligence; and I must repeat, that the zeal his Majesty's sea-officers and seamen exerted, in carrying on the services allotted to them, is highly to be commended.

I shall now beg leave to refer their lordships to Captain Hervey for all further particulars, whom I send with this letter, and who has approved himself a brave and deserving officer in this expedition, and, therefore, think myself obliged to recommend him to his Majesty.

I am, Sir, &c.

G. POCOCK.

Without violating the articles of capitulation, which secured to the inhabitants their private property, the conquerors found a booty computed at near three millions sterling, in silver and valuable merchandise, belonging to the king of Spain, besides an immense quantity of arms, artillery, and military stores. The courts of France and Spain, intimidated by this blow, which laid at the mercy of Britain all their settlements in the West Indies, entered immediately on negociations for peace, which they obtained on easier terms than the great success of the British arms in every quarter of the globe might seem to justify.

Sir George Pocock, on his return home, received the thanks of both houses of parliament, of the city of London, and other public bodies, for his distinguished services, but never accepted of any subsequent command, and in the year 1766, totally retired to private life. Of the motives which induced Sir George to adopt this line of conduct, it is nearly impossible at this period to speak with any degree of correctness. The most probable cause that has been assigned is, that he took offence at the appointment of Sir Charles Saunders, a junior admiral, to the high situation of first Lord of the Admiralty, to which he thought himself and other admirals had preferable

claims, and immediately afterwards resigned his rank as admiral of the blue.

During the remainder of his life, Sir George continued in honourable retirement, and died at his house in Curzon street, May Fair, on the 3d of April, 1792, at the advanced age of eighty-seven. In private life, a more amiable and exalted character never existed, and as an officer, few men will stand higher in the annals of the British navy. In a periodical publication at the time of his decease, the following very honourable mention is made of him.—"He was respected by his enemies abroad, esteemed and beloved by his officers, and adored by all the sailors. His private virtues were adequate to his public renown. He was an excellent father, a benevolent brother, and an affectionate relation to all his family. He had a dignified modesty, which made him never conscious of his own merits, and his generous humanity was a blessing to the poor. Every one who knew him, will testify the truth of these assertions, and will lament the death of so great and good a man."

The remains of Sir George Pocock were interred in the family vault at Twickenham, near those of his lady, by whom he left one son, George Pocock, Esq. F. R. S. and one daughter, married to the present Earl Powlet, when Lord Hinton.

EDWARD LORD HAWKE,

ADMIRAL OF THE WHITE SQUADRON, AND VICE-ADMIRAL OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Edward Lord Hawke was the only son of Edward Hawke, of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq. barrister at law, by Elizabeth his wife, relict of Colonel Ruthven. Being intended for the navy while yet a boy, he received an education suitable to the line of life he was

to pursue. Having passed through the subordinate stations of the service, and acquired a very perfect knowledge of every branch of his duty, he was, in the year 1733, made commander of the Wolf sloop of war, and in March 1734, he was promoted to the rank of post-captain, and appointed to the command of the Flamborough.

In 1740, he obtained the Lark, of forty guns, with which ship he was dispatched to the Leeward Islands. On his return from that station he was appointed to the Portland, of fifty guns. He was soon afterwards removed to the Berwick, of seventy-four guns, one of the ships ordered at that time to the Mediterranean to reinforce the fleet under Admiral Mathews.

On their return from the Mediterranean his ship was paid off, after which he continued for ten years unemployed, a circumstance not a little vexatious to a mind so full of ardour and enterprise. The affair off Toulon betweeen Admiral Mathews and the combined fleet of France and Spain, afforded Hawke the first opportunity of displaying that decisive intrepidity which was destined to render such essential services to his country, and to raise him to the summit of naval glory. In the early part of that action the enemy's ship the Poder had driven the Princessa and Somerset out of the line, which being perceived by Hawke, he immediately bore down upon her till he came within pistol shot, he then discharged his whole broadside into her, and repeated his fire with such uncommon rapidity, and with so much effect, that in twenty minutes he compelled her to strike.

From this time till 1747, we have not been able to procure any account of this renowned officer. It is reported, that he was brought to a court-martial, and sentenced to be dismissed the service, for breaking the line in the action off Toulon; but that he was restored to the service, by the express command of his Majesty George the Second. We have inquired into the truth of this circumstance, but do not find it au-

thenticated either by official documents, or on any good authority. Neither Collins, nor the well-informed author of the Biographia Navalis, give credit to it.

In July 1747, Hawke was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and soon after got the command of a squadron ordered to sea, for the purpose of intercepting a fleet of merchantmen, collected at the Isle of Aix, and destined for America, together with a formidable force, under the command of M. De l'Etendiere, chef d'escadre. He sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of August, with five ships of the third rate, and eight of the fourth rate.

A tedious cruise was at last repaid by a sight of the French squadron on the 10th of October, at seven o'clock in the morning. He was then in the lat. 47° 49′, longitude from Cape Finisterre 1° 2′ W. The signal for the enemy being in sight was made by the Edinburgh. A general chase immediately commenced, and in less than an hour the whole of the enemy's ships were in sight, but crowded together in such a manner, as to prevent their being counted. At ten o'clock, Hawke made the signal to form the line of battle ahead. At half-past ten, Captain Fox, of the Kent, informed the admiral, that the enemy's fleet consisted of twelve large ships of war, with a fleet of merchant vessels and transports under their convoy. The transports and merchantmen were soon perceived to bear away large, with a pressed sail, while the ships of war, were forming the line astern for their protection. Hawke finding that he lost time by endeavouring to form the line ahead, made the signal for a general chase. In less than half an hour, the headmost of the English fleet had neared the enemy so considerably, that the signal was made for that ship to commence the action, which she accordingly did. In about fifteen minutes the engagement became general from van to rear. The French were inferior in point of force, but had the advantage of

the weather-gage. A well-directed and brisk fire was maintained on both sides, with the utmost spirit. But the great object of Hawke was, to bring the enemy to close action, which, owing to his being leeward, he was for a while unable to accomplish. With great difficulty he at last succeeded in getting close alongside of a French fifty gun ship, which in five minutes he compelled to strike. Leaving the smaller ships in the rear to take possession of his prize, he hauled his wind, and pushed on to the support of the Eagle and Edinburgh, the latter of which had lost her fore-topmast, and both of which had sustained great damage. But his endeavours to relieve them were obstructed by the Eagle falling on board the Devonshire; having had her wheel shot away, and her braces and bowlines destroyed, she was rendered altogether unmanageable. Hawke, in consequence of this circumstance, was obliged to bear away; in doing which, however, he attempted to close with a French seventy-four gun ship, but the breeching of his lower-deck guns at this time giving way, he thought it prudent to allow his ship to shoot ahead of the enemy in order to repair them. The enemy perceiving that some accident had happened, kept up a constant and well-directed fire of single guns, with a view to dismast him, before he had time to repair the injury he had sustained. But Capt. Harland of the Tilbury, perceiving the enemy's intention, completely defeated it, by running in between the Frenchman and the Admiral's ship, and keeping her in action until the latter was in a condition to renew the engagement. The admiral had no sooner secured his guns, than he made the signal for close action, having observed some of the ships of his fleet at too great a distance. In a few minutes he closed himself with the Terrible, of seventy-four guns, which, after a long and resolute resistance, he compelled to surrender; and about this time six more of the enemy's ships struck their colours. Night now coming on, and the British fleet

being much dispersed, he made the signal to bring to; but the action continued to leeward during a great part of the night. In the morning, however, he had the mortification to find that instead of the complete success which he promised himself from the continuance of the action, the enemy's fleet were out of sight; the Tonnant, of seventy-four guns, which had struck, had effected her escape, and Captain Saumarez, of the Nottingham, had fallen. In the shattered condition of his fleet, and with the prizes he had taken, he considered it imprudent to pursue the enemy. He, therefore, dispatched a sloop of war express to the West Indies to warn Commodore Pocock of the approach of the French fleet, so that he might take the necessary measures to intercept them.

The event justified the adoption of this measure, for a great part of the enemy's fleet was captured by Commodore Pocock, through the vigilance that he exerted in consequence of the information he had received. Of the prizes taken by Hawke in the action, one only was in a condition to make sail, and he was accordingly obliged to lay to in order to erect jury-masts, and put them in a fit state to proceed to England.

On the 31st of October, he arrived with his prizes at Portsmouth; and, as we have already seen, was for his distinguished bravery and good conduct on this occasion, made knight of the Bath. In the month of January 1748, he was appointed to the command of a squadron, with which he was ordered to cruise in the English Channel. During this cruise, two of the ships of his squadron were fortunate enough to fall in with and capture a French line of battle ship, which had been dismasted in a gale of wind. On the conclusion of peace in the July following, he returned to Spithead, and his squadron was paid off. He was, however, desired to hold himself in constant readiness to take upon him any command which the exigencies of the state

might require; and accordingly in 1749, he was directed to proceed with a squadron to convoy the transports at that period taken up by government to convey the new settlers to the province of Nova Scotia.

On his return from that service he was ordered to sit as president of a court-martial held on board the Invincible, at Portsmouth, for the trial of Samuel Couchman, the first lieutenant, and John Morgan, lieutenant of marines, with several other officers, for a conspiracy to seize his Majesty's ship the Chesterfield, to which they belonged, and to carry her off to the coast of Africa. The court adjudged Couchman and Morgan to be shot; and the carpenter, carpenter's mate, and one seaman, to be hanged, on all of whom that sentence was accordingly executed.

In 1750, he was appointed to the command of the fleet at Portsmouth; and in the autumn of that year he entertained on board his flag-ship, then lying at Spithead, their royal highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, an honour no admiral had then ever before received. He continued in the command at Portsmouth till 1755, when he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the white, and appointed to the command of a fleet, consisting of eighteen ships, for the purpose of cruising on the coast of France, to watch the motions of the French navy, the equipment of which at this period amounted to an infraction of the treaty of peace. On the 29th of September he returned into port, being relieved by Admiral Byng; but when that officer was ordered to proceed to the Mediterranean, Hawke resumed the command of the fleet, in which he continued until, upon the recall of Admiral Byng, he was directed to proceed to Minorca. He accordingly proceeded thither in the Antelope. The object which the French had in view having been accomplished before his arrival, he had no opportunity of retrieving the honour of that fleet which the misconduct of

Byng had unfortunately tarnished. He, however, continued master of the Mediterranean during the remainder of this year, when he returned to England, and was appointed to command a squadron, destined for the expedition against Rochfort, under the command of Sir John Mordaunt. The result of this we have already seen in the fourth volume of this work.

On the 22d of October, he again sailed for the coast of France, with a view to blockade the enemy's ports; and he continued during the winter on that station. In the spring of 1758, he returned to Spithead, and in March sailed again with seven ships of the line, and several frigates, for the Isle of Rhé, off which he arrived on the night of the 3d of April. The squadron continued to play off and on till the morning of the 4th, when they made sail for Basque Road. At day-break he discovered an enemy's squadron with a numerous convoy to windward. He immediately gave chase; but the wind baffling him, the enemy effected their escape, and got into St. Martin's on the Isle of Rhé. Upon this he bore away to Basque Road, in a line of battle a-head, and, in the afternoon, discovered a squadron and convoy lying off the Isle of Aix. He observed their force to consist of one ship of seventy-four guns, three of sixty-four guns, one of sixty guns, and about forty transports. This armament, on board of which were embarked three thousand troops, was under orders to proceed to Louisbourg to reinforce the garrison of that place; and Hawke being acquainted with this circumstance, knew the importance of destroying it. Accordingly, at half past four o'clock, he made the signal for a general chase to the S. E. At five, the enemy began to cut their cables, and, in the utmost consternation, endeavoured to escape. At six o'clock, the French commodore slipped his cable, by which time several of the English ships had worked up within gun-shot of him. Many of the French ships were now close in shore; and being aware that there

was not sufficient depth of water to follow them, he brought up at half-past six, off the Isle of Aix. At five the next morning, all the enemy's ships were discovered a-ground, and nearly dry, at the distance of five or six miles. As soon as the flood-tide made, he put his best pilots into the Intrepid and Medway frigates, and they warped in shore above a gun-shot. The enemy were now seen to be particularly busy in getting boats from Rochfort to assist them in warping their ships through the soft mud in which they lay, as the flood-tide floated them. In order to facilitate this, they threw their guns, stores, &c. overboard. By this means, and their great exertions, they succeeded in getting their ships of war as far as the mouth of the River Charente, where it was not possible for the English to approach near enough even to annoy them. The transports were dragged on shore near the Isle Madam, and so protected by a shoal, that no injury could be done them. On the 5th, Captain Ewer of the marines, was dispatched with one hundred and forty men to the Isle of Aix, to destroy the works which the enemy were employed in erecting. This service was effected without opposition, and by Hawke's peremptory commands, without giving the smallest disturbance to the inhabitants. Having thus completely frustrated the enemy's intended expedition to Louisbourg, and thereby accomplished one of the principal objects he had in view, he returned to England.

Soon after his arrival he was appointed second in command of the fleet under Lord Anson, fitted out for the purpose of covering a descent then meditated on the coast of France near Cherbourg. He continued his flag in the Ramillies; and on the 1st of June sailed with the fleet for the coast of France. But being seized with a fever soon after the arrival of the fleet in the Bay of Biscay, he was obliged to resign his command, to return to England for his recovery. The effects of this severe illness prevented

him from going again on service during the remainder of the year. But his health being at length re-established, he got the chief command of the Channel Fleet, at that time very considerably strengthened, in order to oppose the formidable armament equipped by France, for the purpose of invading Britain. He sailed from Portsmouth on the 18th of May, and for six months he rode triumphant off Brest, keeping that port in a state of blockade; and the French admiral submitted to this mortifying circumstance, rather than hazard a general action. At last a strong westerly wind drove Hawke from his station, which, after endeavouring for upwards of twenty days to regain, he was compelled to put into Plymouth Sound on the 8th of November, and the enemy, seizing that opportunity, put to sea.

On the 14th of November, the Marquis De Conflans sailed from Brest with his whole fleet, and steered for Quiberon Bay, with a view to capture or destroy a small English squadron, stationed there for the purpose of intercepting a fleet of transports, destined for the invasion of Ireland. Hawke having shifted his flag to the Royal George, sailed in pursuit of Conflans on the very day that he left Brest. The result of his pursuit, so memorable in the naval annals of England, has been described by himself so much in detail, and with such admirable perspicuity, that not to give it in his own words, would be to disregard the taste and judgment of our readers.*

* *Royal George, Penris Point, Nov. 24, 1751.*

SIR,

In my letter of the 17th, by express, I desired you would acquaint their lordships with my having received intelligence of eighteen sail of the line and three frigates of the Brest squadron being discovered about twenty-four leagues to the N.W. of Belle-isle, steering to the eastward. All the prisoners, however, agree, that on the day we chased them, their squadron consisted, according to their accompanying list, of four ships of eighty guns, six of seventy-four guns, three of seventy guns, eight of sixty-four guns, one frigate of thirty-six guns, one of thirty-four guns, and one of

On the 17th of January, 1760, Hawke returned to Portsmouth, where he landed amidst the acclama-

sixteen guns, with a small vessel to look out. They sailed from Brest the 14th instant, the same day I sailed from Torbay. Concluding that their first rendezvous would be Quiberon, the instant I received the intelligence, I directed my course thither with a pressed sail. At the first, the wind blowing hard at S. by E. and S. drove us considerably to the westward; but on the 18th and 19th, though variable, it proved more favourable. In the mean time, having been joined by the Maidstone and Coventry frigates, I directed their commanders to keep a-head of the squadron, one on the starboard and the other on the larboard bow. At half past eight o'clock in the morning of the 20th, Belleisle, by our reckoning bearing E. by N. one fourth N. the Maidstone made the signal for seeing a fleet. I immediately spread abroad the signal for a line abreast, in order to draw all the ships of the squadron up with me. I had before sent the Magnanime a-head, to make the land: at three quarters past nine she made the signal for an enemy. Observing, on my discovering them, that they made off, I threw out the signal for the seven ships nearest them to chase, and, by drawing into a line of battle a-head of me, endeavour to stop them till the rest of the squadron should come up. The other ships were also to form as they chased, that no time might be lost in the pursuit. That morning the enemy were in chase of the Rochester, Chatham, Portland, Falkland, Minerva, Vengeance, and Venus, all which joined me about eleven o'clock; and, in the evening, the Sapphire from Quiberon Bay. All the day we had very fresh gales from N.W. and W.N.W. with heavy squalls. M. Conflans kept going off under such sail as all his squadron could carry, and at the same time keep together, while we crowded after him, with every sail our ships could bear. At half past two P.M. the fire beginning a-head, I made the signal for engaging. We were then to the southward of Belleisle, and the admiral headmost; he soon after led round the Cardinals, while his rear was in action. About four o'clock the Formidable struck, and a little after the Thesée and Superbe were sunk; about five the Heros struck, and came to an anchor, but it blowing hard no boat could be sent on board her. Night was now come on, and being on a part of the coast among islands and shoals, of which we were totally ignorant, without a pilot, the greatest part of the squadron being in the same situation, it also blowing hard on a lee-shore, I made the signal to anchor, and came to in little [illegible] fathom of water, the Island of Dumet bearing E. by N. between two and three miles, the Cardinals W. half S. and the S[illegible] of Crozie S.E. as we found next morning.

In the night we heard many guns of distress fired, but [illegible] lence of the wind, our want of knowledge of the coast, a[illegible]

tions of the people. On his arrival in London, a few days afterwards, he was introduced to his Majesty,

they were fired by a friend or an enemy, prevented all means of relief.

By day-break on the 21st, we discovered one of our ships dismasted on shore, the French Heros also, and the Soleil Royal, which, under cover of the night, had anchored among us, cut and ran ashore to the westward of Crozie. On the latter's moving, I made the Essex's signal to slip and pursue her; but she unfortunately got upon the Four, and both she and the Resolution are irrecoverably lost, notwithstanding we sent them all the assistance the weather would permit. About fourscore of the Resolution's company, in spite of the strongest remonstrances of their captain, made rafts, and, with several French prisoners belonging to the Formidable, put off, and I am afraid drove out to sea. All the Essex's are saved, (with as many of the stores as possible,) except one lieutenant and a boat's crew, who was drove on the French shore, and have not since been heard of. The remains of both ships are set on fire. We found the Dorsetshire, Revenge, and Defiance had, during the night of the 20th, put to sea, as I hope the Swiftsure did, for she is still missing. The Dorsetshire and Defiance returned the next day; and the latter saw the Revenge without. Thus, what loss we have sustained has been owing to the weather, not the enemy, seven or eight of whose line of battle ships got to sea, I believe, the night of the action.

As soon as it was broad day-light in the morning of the 21st, I discovered seven or eight of the enemy's line of battle ships at anchor, between Point Penris and the River Villaine, on which I made the signal to weigh, in order to work up and attack them; but it blowed so hard from the N.W. that instead of daring to cast the squadron loose, I was obliged to strike top-gallant-masts. Most of their ships appeared to be aground at low water; but on the flood, by lightening them, and the advantage of the wind under the land, all, except two, got that night into the River Villaine.

The weather being moderate on the 22d, I sent the Portland, Chatham, and Vengeance, to destroy the Soleil Royal and Heros. The French, on the approach of our ships, set the first on fire, and soon after the latter met the same fate from our people. In the mean time I got under weigh, and worked up within Penris Point, as well for the sake of its being a safer road, as to destroy, if possible, the two ships of the enemy which still lay without the Villaine; but before the ships sent a-head for that purpose could get near them, being quite light, they got in with the tide of flood.

All the 23d we were employed in reconnoitring the entrance of that river, which is very narrow, with only twelve foot water on the bar, at low water. We discovered at least seven, if not eight line of battle ships, about half a mile within, quite light, and two

who received him with the most distinguished marks of his favour. A pension of 2000*l. per annum* was settled on him for his own life, and the lives of his two sons, with a continuation to the survivor of them. The public rejoicings on the occasion were proportioned to the magnitude and importance of

large frigates which appeared to have guns in. By evening I had twelve long boats fitted as fire-ships, ready to attempt burning them, under cover of the Sapphire and Coventry; but the weather being bad, and the wind contrary, obliged me to defer it, till at least the latter should be favourable: if they can by any means be destroyed, it shall be done.

In attacking a flying enemy, it was impossible, in the space of a short winter's day, that all our ships should be able to get into action, or all those of the enemy brought to it. The commanders and companies of such as did come up with the rear of the French on the 20th, behaved with the greatest intrepidity, and gave the strongest proofs of a true British spirit: in the same manner, I am satisfied, those would have acquitted themselves, whose bad going ships, or the distance they were at in the morning, prevented from getting up. Our loss by the enemy is not considerable, for in the ships which are now with me, I find only one lieutenant and thirty-nine seamen and marines killed, and about two hundred and two wounded. When I considered the season of the year, the hard gales on the day of action, a flying enemy, the shortness of the day, and the coast we were on, I can boldly affirm, that all that could possibly be done, has been done. As to the loss we have sustained, let it be placed to the account of the necessity I was under of running all risks to break this strong force of the enemy. Had we had but two hours more day-light, the whole had been totally destroyed or taken, for we were almost up with the van when night overtook us.

Yesterday came in here the Pallas, Fortune, and the Proserpine fire-ship. On the 16th, I had dispatched the Fortune to Quiberon, with directions to Captain Duff to keep strictly on his guard. In his way thither she fell in with the Hebe, a French frigate of forty guns, under jury-masts, and fought her several hours. During the engagement, Lieutenant Stuart, second of the Ramillies, whom I had appointed to command her, was unfortunately killed. The surviving officers, on consulting together, resolved to leave her, as she proved too strong for them. I have detached Captain Young to Quiberon Bay with five ships, and am making up a flying squadron to scour the coast to the Isle of Aix, and if practicable to attempt any of the enemy's ships that may be there.

I am, Sir, &c.

EDWARD HAWKE.

the victory; and he must have felt a generous triumph in hearing the praises of those who before were so loud in their undeserved censures of his conduct. It is a curious fact, that on the very day of this glorious victory, Hawke was hanged in effigy in the streets of London. This singular instance of popular violence, may teach great men how to appreciate the applauses of the multitude.

On the 28th of January he attended in his place in the House of Commons as member for Portsmouth, when the speaker informed him, that the house had unanimously resolved, "That their thanks should be given him for the late splendid victory over the French fleet, and accordingly delivered them in the following terms:

"Sir Edward Hawke,

"The house has unanimously resolved, that their thanks be given to you, for the late signal victory obtained by you over the French fleet.

"You are now, Sir, happily returned to your country, after a long but most important service; you are returned victorious, triumphant, and full of honour. You meet the applause of your countrymen in their minds and hearts, and which they had manifested before in all the outward demonstrations of public joy and congratulation.

"Your expedition was of the nearest and most affecting concern to us—the immediate defence of his Majesty's kingdom against a disappointed and enraged enemy, meditating in their revenge our destruction at once. Your trust, therefore, Sir, was of the highest nature; but to which your characters of courage, fidelity, vigilance, and abilities, were known to be equal. You soon freed us from fears, and have answered all our hopes, that bravery and conduct could give, or turbulent seas and seasons would admit of; even the last did not disturb or diminish your spirit and vigour. You had overawed the enemy in

their ports, in their chief naval force, till shame, perhaps, or desperation, brought them forth at last. You fought them, subdued them; and, in their confusion and dismay, made those, who could escape, to seek their security in flight and disgrace.

"Thus their long preparing invasion was broken and dispelled, and which cannot but bring to our remembrance the design and the fate of another armada (in a former age of glory) whose defeat was at that time the safety of England, and the lasting renown of the English navy. These, Sir, are your late eminent services to your king and country, and have been now enumerated; not from an imagination that they are unknown any where, or can be ever forgotten, but that your presence with us makes them to rise, with their first strength, in our thoughts, as the recounting them must give us a fresh spirit of joy in our acknowledgments of them; our acknowledgments then, Sir, you have for these your past services. Permit us to add our expectations too of what may be your future merits, in the defence of the rights and honour of your country, wherever you shall again command.

"It is a very pleasing office to me, to convey these thanks of the house to you; and I do now give you, in the name of the Commons of Great Britain, their thanks, for the late signal victory, obtained by you, over the French Fleet."

Upon which Sir Edward Hawke said:

"Mr. Speaker,

"I own myself greatly at a loss, as to the proper manner of acknowledging the great honour conferred on me by this august house, in their distinguished approbation of my conduct, on the 20th of November last. In doing my utmost, I only did the duty I owed my king and country, which ever has been, and shall be, my greatest ambition to perform faith-

fully and honestly to the best of my ability. I can only assure this honourable house, that I receive this mark of honour with the greatest respect, and shall ever retain the most grateful sense of it.

" Before I sit down, permit me, Sir, to return you my most respsectful thanks, for the obliging manner in which you have communicated to me the great honour done me by this house, which I shall ever esteem as the highest obligation."

From this period until the month of August following, no naval operations took place, and Hawke continued in London. He was then ordered to hoist his flag again in the Royal George, and to repair to Quiberon, to relieve Admiral Boscawen in the command of the fleet on that station. But during the time he remained there, the enemy gave him no opportunity of adding to the glory he had so well acquired ; and after destroying a small fort on the Island of Dumet, he returned to Portsmouth.

In 1761, he was again ordered to the coast of France with a powerful fleet to watch the motions of the enemy. In this service he has been accused of inactivity by a celebrated naval historian; but after an attentive examination of all the circumstances of his conduct, we can perceive nothing remiss or blameable in it. The purpose for which he was stationed on the coast of France was, to blockade the ports of Brest, Bourdeaux, and Rochelle, and that purpose he effectually fulfilled. That the enemy never once gave him an opportunity to attack them, is a fact universally admitted. That he not only prevented all vessels from entering or coming out of the ports we have mentioned, but completely cut off every sort of communication between them and the sea, is also a factwhich has been satisfactorily authenticated. How then does this alleged inactivity appear? The naval historian, perhaps, thought that Hawke should have attempted to destroy the enemy's

fleet in the port of Brest. But of the practicability of such an operation, we shall leave our readers to determine, whether the historian in his closet, or the admiral at his station, was the most competent judge.

On Hawke's return from this service, he was elected one of the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House; and soon afterwards he was honoured with the freedom of the city of Dublin.

In May, 1762, he was ordered to sea with seven sail of the line and two frigates, with a view to intercept a small squadron that had escaped from Brest, under cover of a thick fog, destined for the attack of Newfoundland. But he was not fortunate enough to fall in with this squadron, and after an uninteresting cruise of some weeks, he returned to port. Immediately on his arrival he was appointed to the command of ten sail of the line and three frigates, and ordered to proceed to Lisbon, which city was at that time threatened to be attacked by the combined force of France and Spain. But the arrival of the English fleet in the Tagus under the command of Hawke, was alone sufficient to deter the enemy from putting their threat in execution. He had, therefore, no opportunity of distinguishing himself on this occasion; and the peace of Paris, which took place soon afterwards, put a period to his active services. On this account we have introduced his memoirs in this place, rather than omitting them till after the period of his death.

On his return home he was made rear-admiral of England; and two years afterwards he was appointed first lord of the Admiralty, and at the same time vice-admiral of England. He continued to preside at the board of Admiralty with the same distinguished ability to which alone he owed his elevation, till the year 1771, when he voluntarily resigned his place. Some years subsequent to his resignation, he was raised to the peerage by the style and title of Baron Hawke of Towton, in the county of York.

He was now advanced in years, and depressed by infirmities; but his zeal for the navy remained unabated. His conduct on the trial of Admiral Keppel, as we shall hereafter see, was strongly characteristic of his generous and independent spirit, as well as of the lively interest which he felt in the affairs of a service, which, from the glory of his public actions, and the example of his private virtues, he may be said to have endowed.

In 1779, he retired to a country seat at Sunbury, in Middlesex, where he died on the 17th of October 1781. He married Catherine, daughter of Walter Brooke, Esq. of Burton-hall, in the county of York, and by that lady he had three sons and one daughter. She died on the 28th of October, 1756, and he continued a widower during the rest of his life.

We subjoin the following epitaph, taken from a monument which was erected to his memory in the parish church of Stoneham, in Hampshire; the praise which it bestows is strictly just, a merit which does not always belong to sepulchral inscriptions:—

D. O. M.
This monument is sacred to the memory of
Edward Hawke,
Lord Hawke, Baron of Towton, in the county of York,
Knight of the Bath,
Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet,
Vice-Admiral of Great Britain, &c. &c.
Who died October 17th, 1781,
Aged 76.

The bravery of his soul was equal to the dangers he encountered; the cautious intrepidity of his deliberations, superior even to the conquests he obtained; the annals of his life compose a period of naval glory, unparalleled in later times, for wherever he sailed victory attended him; a Prince, unsolicited, conferred on him dignities— He disdained to ask.

CHAP XXV.

The Naval History of Great Britain from the End of the War in 1763 *to the Year* 1774.

AS the war of 1755 had been undertaken in order to protect the British colonies in America against the encroachments of the French, so the security of these colonies seems to have been the principal object in the treaty of peace, of which the terms were, doubtless, more advantageous to the English settlements in America than to the Island of Great Britain. The unexampled success of the war enabled England to dictate the conditions of peace. She had it in her option to retain the West India islands of Martinico, Guadaloupe, Mariegalante, and Desiderade, the possession of which would have brought the most important advantages to her commerce, or by ceding these islands, to secure the American settlements on the north by the acquisition of Canada. She preferred the interest of her colonies. It was no less in her power to retain the important conquests she had made from Spain, as to obtain an equivalent for these conquests by stipulating such commercial advantages as would have added immense wealth to Great Britain, or to defend her American colonies in the south by acquiring the forts of St. Augustine and Pensacola, and the extensive country of Florida. In this instance, also, the interest of America prevailed. The colonies were secured from every hostile attack, and, at the price of British blood and treasure, and every national advantage, were placed in such a situation as no longer required the protection of Great Britain. From that moment they may

be said to have obtained independence, when their condition enabled them to assume it.

It has long been observed, that England generally loses by negociation the advantages which she has acquired by force of arms. If this observation be well founded, the circumstance, perhaps, does not so much arise from the unskilfulness of her ministers as from the nature of the English constitution. In a free country there are a great many little interests, all of which must be considered by a minister, and some of which may be allowed, at certain times, in consequence of a particular combination of circumstances, to prevail over the general interest of the community. At the time that the public attention was employed in considering the proposed terms of peace, the conduct of the West India interest in parliament was extremely remarkable. The popular lord mayor of London assumed the lead among those colonists, who composed a powerful and complete body in the House of Commons. These gentlemen, while the peace was in agitation, spared neither pains nor expence to persuade the English nation that it was far more eligible to retain Canada than the West India islands. The reason for their being so anxious to spread this opinion, was, because the possession of the French West Indies would have annihilated their own importance; whereas the possession of Canada could not detract any thing from the value of Jamaica, Antigua, and the other islands, in which their property consisted. It is said that the late minister had, against his own sentiments, purchased their friendship by complying with their desires in this particular; and their clamorous efforts to render their own voice that of the public, had, doubtless, a considerable influence with the ministers who negociated the peace. But this was not all. The English had not yet learned to separate their own interests from those of America; and those who then held the helm of affairs, were foolishly dazzled with

the notion of acquiring an extensive and undisturbed empire across the Atlantic. When the West India patriots observed them determined in this design, and that the retaining Canada and the cession of the islands was a point irrevocable in the negociation, they joined heartily in opposing the whole system of the peace. The odium of this measure was thrown entirely on administration; but the clamour of pretended patriots and the ambition of courtiers had united in bringing about an event which has been one considerable source of the subsequent calamities which have befallen Great Britain.

The parliament which met in the year 1763, approved of the peace, and voted sixteen thousand men to be employed for the sea-service for 1764, including four thousand two hundred and eighty-seven marines. The king in his speech had recommended keeping the fleet on a respectable footing; the ordinary of the navy amounted to 368,598*l.* and 200,000*l.* was voted towards the building and repairs of his Majesty's ships for 1764. Nothing could be more proper than these preparations, which insured the performance of the articles of the general peace on the part of France and Spain; all of which, excepting the liquidation of the Canada bills and the Manilla ransom, were fulfilled with great punctuality.

Notwithstanding the pacific intentions of the French and Spanish courts, some occurrences unavoidably happened in distant parts which were employed as arguments by the opposers of the peace for again embroiling Great Britain with both these kingdoms. The first event of this kind was a misunderstanding between the English and French commanders in America. This afforded matter for popular declamation; but when the facts were fully explained, it appeared that the differences had entirely arisen from the commander of an English frigate having, pursuant to his orders from England, obliged a French ship to keep within the bounds of

navigation prescribed by treaty. This matter was hardly explained to the satisfaction of the public, when a sloop of war arrived at Portsmouth from Newfoundland, which represented the French fleet on that coast as extremely formidable. It was asserted that the French, in direct opposition to the treaty of peace, intended to fortify St. Peter's, and that the British squadron in those parts commanded by Mr. Palliser, was by no means in a condition to prevent this measure. Upon this intelligence, the party in opposition pronounced a French war to be unavoidable, unless we were disposed to sacrifice all our late conquests. Meanwhile Mr. Palliser dispatched a sloop to the French governor at St. Peter's to inquire into the truth of the reports which prevailed, and to know if he had mounted cannon and erected works on that island. The governor answered by assurances that there was no more than one four-pounder mounted without a plat-form, and with no other intention than to make signals, and to answer those which were made by the fishermen; that the guard had never exceeded fifty men; and that no works or buildings whatever had been erected contrary to the treaty. The suspicions had arisen from the equivocal conduct of a captain of a French ship of fifty guns, which, as it appeared by the commodore's letters, was the only large vessel the French had in those parts. This ship, with one frigate of twenty-six guns, and another of inferior force, formed their whole strength, and Mr. Palliser was assured that none of those vessels had ever attempted, or would ever attempt, to enter into any of the harbours on the coast of Newfoundland.

The clamour which was excited by the conduct of a French squadron at Turk's island, was supported on a better foundation. This place is the most considerable of a number of small islands which go under the same name on the coast of Spanish Hispaniola. It is only four miles in length, has not any

good harbour, and is so barren and uncomfortable a spot, that it is impossible for any settlement to subsist upon it. But, as the coast abounds with various kinds of fish, especially turtle, and affords great quantities of salt, the Bermudians and other British subjects resorted thither in order to fish, and to gather salt in the dry season. Two hundred of them were employed in this manner in the month of June, when a French ship of seventy-four guns, with a snow, sloop, and xebeque, arrived from Cape François. Having landed on Turk's island, they laid hold of the English, plundered and burnt their cabins, detained their persons for some days as prisoners, and, when dismissed, ordered them never to return into those parts. Mr. Lyttelton, the governor of Jamaica, was no sooner informed of those hostilities, than he sent notice of them to the ministry, who gave such instructions as the occasion required to Lord Hertford, then ambassador in France. Meanwhile, an account of the whole transaction was laid before the public; and it was generally thought that the French intended to attempt a settlement on Turk's island. The opposition represented the attack upon the English salt-gatherers as a premeditated plan of the French politics, which was to be executed by the treacherous D'Estaign, then governor of St. Domingo, for expelling the British subjects not only from these wretched islands, but from all their other possessions in the West Indies. They insisted that the past hostilities and present intentions of the French were a justifiable ground for a new war. But this clamour was effectually silenced by the declaration of the French court in answer to the demands of the British ambassador. It disavowed the proceedings of the French subjects in the West Indies, disclaimed all intention of acquiring or conquering Turk's island, ordered the Count D'Estaign to cause these islands to be immediately abandoned, and every thing therein to be restored to the condition in which

it was before the late violent proceedings. Full reparation also was ordered to be made to the British subjects for the loss of their property and other injuries, according to an estimation to be immediately settled by the governors of Jamaica and St. Domingo.

The usual remissness of the court of Spain in giving instructions to their governors in distant parts, concerning the observation of treaties negociated in Europe, had almost occasioned a rupture betwixt England and that kingdom, which, however, terminated in a manner equally honourable for Great Britain. On the 22d of February, 1764, an order came from Don Joseph Rosado, governor of Baccabar, commanding the English settlers in the Bay of Honduras to retire from every other place, and to confine themselves to the banks of the River Balis. The English in those parts are under the protection of the governor of Jamaica, to whom they presented a petition, setting forth, "That the Spanish orders had occasioned a total stagnation of business; that the commanders of ships who had hitherto supplied the petitioners with provisions, seeing no probability of being paid for what they had already furnished, declined being longer concerned in that commerce; and that having no plantations of their own, and being cut off from the only supply in which they could confide, they saw no possible means of preserving themselves and their families from famine." In consequence of this petition, Governor Lyttelton sent an agent from Jamaica to inquire into the true state of the grievances complained of, and to use his best endeavours to redress them. Upon inquiry, it was found that the order of the Spanish governor of Baccabar was, in consequence of a letter of the 29th of December, 1763, written by M. D'Estines, captain-general of Jucatan, who had arrived at Campeachy on the 7th of the same month. This letter enjoined the necessity of confining the logwood cutters to

particular districts, in order to prevent the Spaniards from being imposed on by pretenders to the rights of British subjects. Accordingly, the English were limited to twenty leagues up the south side of the new river; in the River Balis, and four leagues to the southward of its mouth, they were not to be interrupted; but if discovered beyond these limits, their negroes were seized, their property confiscated, and their own persons arrested.

While proper measures were used in America for removing these grievances, and for keeping the Spaniards to the 17th article of the treaty, which ascertained the right of the English to cut logwood in the Bay of Campeachy, the earl of Rochford, then ambassador at Madrid, had instructions to complain of the conduct of M. D'Estines. To his memorial, which was dictated in the most spirited terms, the Spanish minister replied, "That he had no advices from that governor relative to the subject of the complaint; but that it was certainly his Catholic Majesty's intention to abide by the 17th article of the last treaty of peace; that he had already given positive orders to his governor of Jucatan for that purpose; that these orders should be renewed, and the English no longer interrupted in cutting logwood in the stipulated places."

This answer, though in appearance, sufficiently explicit, did not satisfy the antiministerial party in Great Britain. They affirmed that the reply of his Catholic Majesty's minister was disingenuous, because it stipulated no satisfaction to the sufferers, nor any punishment on the offending party; and they called out for an immediate declaration of war against Spain. Partly, perhaps, in order to quiet the violence of their clamours, the earl of Rochford was ordered to make fresh remonstrances. These occasioned the sending of new orders to the governor of Jucatan, in which his proceedings with regard to the British subjects in the Bay of Honduras are disapproved by his Catholic Majesty; he is commanded

to repair their injuries, to give them no disquiet in future under any pretence whatever; it being the desire of the king of Spain to preserve peace with Great Britain, and to give the greatest proofs of his friendship to the British nation.

The pacific intentions of France and Spain, which had been sufficiently discovered in every transaction since the conclusion of the treaty, was entirely owing to the known strength of the British navy in those parts where the natural enemies of this kingdom are most vulnerable. The American seas were covered with English ships of war, which in a great measure interrupted the illicit commerce between the British colonies and the French and Spanish settlements. This occasioned affecting representations to be sent from across the Atlantic. The colonists complained that all the British ships of war were now converted into guarda-costas, and their commanders into so many custom-house officers, who seized every foreign ship carrying gold and silver to be exchanged for British commodities; and they asserted that, if this resource by which they were supplied with specie from France and Spain was cut off, it would be impossible for them to make their remittances to England.

The universality of these complaints engaged the ministry to mitigate the rigour of the orders which they had sent out at the conclusion of the peace to the West India governors, and commanders of ships, for annoying the contraband trade of the colonies with France and Spain. The navy of Great Britain was thus delivered from a service, which was, in some measure, unworthy of that dignity and splendour by which it had been distinguished; and a few vessels were henceforth employed in an undertaking which was more suitable to the naval greatness of this island.

It had long been a question with the learned, whether the unexplored part of the southern hemisphere

contained another continent, or whether so great a part of the globe exhibited only an immense expanse of water. The former opinion seemed to be rendered probable by analogical reasoning concerning the geography of the earth, and received some additional strength from the various discoveries of new lands in those remote parts, by the several commercial powers who held possessions in America. The English, Portuguese, Dutch, and French navigators had distinguished themselves, for above two centuries, in this immense field of enterprise; and, although they failed in all their attempts to determine the main question, they met with such a variety of new objects as gave rise to other questions, and excited fresh curiosity. Soon after the accession of his present majesty to the throne, a design was formed of sending out vessels for examining with particular attention the wonders of the southern hemisphere, and for confirming what was true, and detecting what was false in the various and contradictory accounts of former navigators. In the year 1764, the kingdom being then in a state of profound peace, the Dolphin and the Tamer, the former a ship of war of the sixth rate, and the latter a sloop, mounting sixteen guns, were dispatched for this purpose, under the command of Commodore Byron, whose instructions, dated the 17th of June in that year, explain the nature and object of the expedition. "Whereas nothing can redound more to the honour of this nation as a maritime power, to the dignity of the crown of Great Britain, and to the advancement of the trade and navigation thereof, than to make discoveries of countries hitherto unknown; and whereas there is reason to believe that lands and islands of great extent, hitherto unvisited by any European power, may be found in the Atlantic ocean, between the Cape of Good Hope and the Magellanic Straits, within the latitude convenient for navigation, and in climates adapted to the produce of commodities useful in commerce; and

whereas his Majesty's Islands called Pepy's island and Falkland Islands, lying within the said track, notwithstanding their having been first discovered and visited by British navigators, have never yet been so sufficiently surveyed, as that an accurate judgment may be formed of their coasts and product, his Majesty taking the premises into consideration, and conceiving no conjuncture so proper for an enterprise of this nature as a time of profound peace, which his kingdoms at present happily enjoy, has thought fit that it should now be undertaken." Captain Byron, pursuant to these instructions, sailed from the Downs on the 21st of June; and having visited the Falkland Islands, passed through the Straits of Magellan into the Pacific Ocean, where he discovered the islands of Disappointment, George, Prince of Wales, Danger, York Island, and Byron Island. He returned to England in the month of May in the year 1766—having determined in the course of this long navigation many doubtful points, the result of which is highly interesting to the public, and may be of great importance to future navigators.

Commodore Byron came in sight of Cape Frio on the coast of Brazil on the 11th of September, and anchored the day following in the great road of Rio de Janeiro. This city is governed by the viceroy of Brazil, who received the English officers with a ceremonious politeness. The people aboard the commodore's ship, having been supplied with fresh provisions and greens every day, were very healthy; but there being many sick aboard the Tamer, a place was appointed for them on shore, where they soon recovered. On the 16th of October both ships weighed anchor; and the crews were impatient to get to sea, in order to avoid the excessive heats which prevail on that coast. They were obliged, however, to remain five days above the bar, waiting for the land breeze: nor was it without much difficulty they got out at last, on account of the narrowness of the entrance between the

two first forts, which renders the passage so dangerous that the ships must have been lost, had they followed the advice of the Portuguese pilot. During the delay at Rio de Janeiro several English sailors were decoyed by the Portuguese to leave their respective ships. This is a common practice on the coast of Brazil, especially at Rio de Janeiro, where the Portuguese, carrying on a great trade, spare no pains, nor labour, nor deceit to entice foreign seamen to enter into their service.

The commodore, having lost sight of the coast of Brazil on the 22d of October, called all hands upon deck, and informed them that he was not, as they imagined, bound immediately to the East Indies, but upon certain discoveries, which it was thought might be of great importance to our country, in consideration of which the lords commissioners of the admiralty had been pleased to promise them double pay, and several other advantages, if during the voyage they should behave themselves to his satisfaction. They all expressed the greatest joy upon the occasion; assured him they would undergo with chearfulness every difficulty and danger in the service of their country, and obey his orders with the utmost zeal. The commodore continued to steer his course towards the south; and on the 11th November found himself in the latitude, 42 degrees 34 minutes south; longitude, 58 degrees 17 minutes west. While he was in the latitude of 35 degrees 50 minutes, he found the weather as cold as it is in the same season in England, although the month of November is a spring month in the southern hemisphere, answering to the month of May in Europe; and they were 20 degrees nearer the line than we are in Britain; so much colder is it towards the southern regions of the earth. The people on the forecastle were frequently deceived with the appearance of land. On the 12th of November they called out at once, "land right a-head." The commodore looked forward under the fore-sail, and saw

what at first appeared to be an island, rising in two rude craggy hills. He sent officers to the mast-head who called out that they saw land a great way to the windward. As they continued their navigation, the land still kept the same appearance, and the hills looked blue, as they generally do at a distance. Many of the seamen said they saw the sea break upon the sandy beaches; but having steered for above an hour, what they had taken for land vanished at once, and, to their great astonishment, appeared to have been a fog bank. After this extraordinary disappointment the commodore shaped his course for Cape Blanco, which he discovered on the 17th, but after two days sailing was still at a loss for Port Desire, no description being more confused than that which Sir John Narborough had given of that harbour. On the 20th he discovered an island, which corresponded with Narborough's description of Penguin island; and in the evening saw a remarkable rock, rising from the water's edge like a steeple, on the south side of the entrance of Port Desire. This rock is an excellent land-mark for the harbour, which is otherwise very difficult to find. During his stay at this place, which was till the 5th of December, the commodore ordered every part of it to be sounded, and found that there is no danger but what may be seen at low water. He discovered several wells of fresh water at a small distance from the beach, and found great quantities of guanicoes and wild fowl. Here is also such plenty of excellent muscles, that a boat may be loaded with them every trip at low water; and in some parts of the coast there are bushes which might produce a tolerable supply of fuel. On the whole, Port Desire would be a very convenient place for ships to touch at if it were not for the rapidity of the current.

Having unmoored on the 5th of December, they proceeded in search of Pepy's Island, which is said in Cowley's voyage to lie in 47 degrees south latitude.

But they sought for it during several days in vain, and were at length obliged by hard weather to steer for the Cape Virgin Mary, the north entrance of the Straits of Magellan. On the 20th they ran close in shore to this cape, there being a long spit of sand running to the southward. In the evening they brought up close to this spit of sand, having seen many guanicoes feeding in the vallies, and a great smoke all the afternoon. At this place the Dolphin anchored; but the Tamer, not being able to fetch the anchoring ground, kept under way all night. However, both vessels anchored next morning two miles from the shore. This was the coast of Patagonia, which, according to very early accounts was said to be inhabited by a race of giants; but the veracity of these accounts had become doubtful, from the contradictory assertions of many later navigators who had been on that coast, and had never met with any men of an extraordinary stature. This circumstance naturally engaged the commodore's attention. When his ship, therefore, had come to an anchor, he saw exactly what had happened to the crew of the Wager, as mentioned in the account written by Mr. Bulkeley of her voyage. A great number of horsemen rode backwards and forwards directly abreast of the ship, waving in their hands something white as an invitation for them to come on shore. The commodore, being extremely desirous to know what these people were, ordered out his twelve-oared boat, and went towards the beach with Mr. Marshal his second lieutenant, and a party of men well armed, Mr. Cumming his first lieutenant following in the six-oared cutter. When they came within a short distance of the shore, they saw above five hundred people, some on foot, but the greater part on horseback, who continued waving and hallooing, as invitations to land. They appeared to be entirely unarmed; but the commodore made signs to them to remove to a little distance, with which they immediately com-

plied. The English then landed, and were drawn up on the beach, where the commodore ordered them to continue, while he alone went forward towards the Indians, who retired as he approached. He therefore again made signals that one of them should come near, which one of them who appeared to be a chief immediately complied with. He was of a gigantic stature, and seemed to realize in part the tales of Polyphemus of old. He had the skin of a wild beast thrown over his shoulders, and his face was painted so as to make a most hideous appearance. The commodore did not measure him, but supposes his height to have been about seven feet. With this frightful Colossus he marched forward to join the rest, who still continued at a distance, as they had been desired. Mr. Byron made signs for them to sit down, which they readily obeyed. There were among them several women proportionably large, and few of the men seemed less than the chief who had first come forward. They received with much pleasure the trinkets which were distributed among them, and behaved in a most regular and orderly manner, no one testifying the least impatience or displeasure, that his neighbour was served before him, or that his present was better than his own. They made signs for the commodore to go along with them, and offered him one of their horses; but he made them understand that he must return to his ship, at which they expressed great concern. During the pantomimical conference, an old man often laid his head down upon the stones, and shutting his eyes for about half a minute, first pointed to his mouth, and afterwards to the hills, meaning probably, that if the strangers could stay all night, he would bring them some provisions. These people are not only tall, but well proportioned: except the skins which they wore with the hair inwards, most of them were naked, a few only having on their legs a kind of boot, with a short pointed stick fastened to each heel, which served as

a spit. When the commodore, and some of his people who had by this time come up, thought proper to leave them, not one of them offered to follow, but continued to remain in the same position in which they had been placed. They had a great number of dogs, with which they probably hunt the wild animals which serve them for food. Their horses were not large, nor in good case, yet they appeared to be nimble and well broken. The bridle was a leathern thong, with a small piece of wood that served for a bit, and the saddles resemble the pads, which are used among the country people in England. The women rode astride, and both men and women without stirrups; yet they galloped fearlessly over the spit upon which the English landed, the stones of which were large, loose and slippery.

Mr. Byron, having quitted this part of the coast, and being in latitude 51 degrees south, and longitude 68 degrees 22 minutes west, observed on the 14th of January a low flat island, full of high tufts of grass resembling bushes. He continued his course along the shore of this island about six leagues, and then saw another island low and rocky. On the former he discovered one of the finest harbours in the world, which he named Port Egmont in honour of the earl, who presided at the Board of Admiralty. The mouth of this harbour is south-east, distant seven miles from the rocky island, which is a good mark to know it by. In every part of Port Egmont, where the whole navy of England might ride in perfect safety, there is great plenty of fresh water; and geese, ducks, snipes and other birds are so numerous, that the ship's company grew tired of them. Here are wild celery and wood sorrel in the greatest abundance, besides many other refreshments which are in the highest degree salutary to those who have contracted scorbutic disorders during a long voyage. Nor is there any want of muscles, clams, cockles and limpets; the seals and penguins are innumerable

and it is impossible to walk on the beach without first driving them away. The coast, also, abounds with animals of a more dangerous kind. There are sea lions of an enormous size; and a very fierce quadruped resembling a wolf. The fangs of this creature are remarkably long and sharp; and it is so fierce as to run against every animal that it sees. It is not easy to guess how this quadruped should have got to these islands, which are distant at least one hundred leagues from the continent. The first navigator who visited those parts is supposed to be Captain Davies, the associate of Cavendish, in 1592. In 1594, Sir Richard Hawkins saw land, supposed to be the same, and, in honour of his mistress Queen Elizabeth, called them Hawkins's Maiden Land. Long afterwards they were seen by some French ships from St. Maloe's; and Frezier, probably for that reason, called them the Malouins, a name which has since been adopted by the Spaniards. Commodore Byron thinks there is little reason to doubt they are the same called Pepy's Islands by Cowley; and he took possession of Port Egmont and all the neighbouring islands for his Majesty King George the Third, by the name of Falkland Islands.

Commodore Byron having examined those parts with a degree of attention that had never been before bestowed on them, made sail for Port Desire, and on the 6th of February, saw land, and stood in for the port. During the run from Falkland Islands to this place, the number of whales about the ship was so great as to render the navigation dangerous. On the 14th he put to sea, in order to go through the Straits of Magellan, and to examine with attention the principal bays and harbours formed by the coast on each side. He entered the Strait the 17th of February, and quitted it the 9th of April, having employed seven weeks and two days in the voyage, which was attended with incredible difficulties and dangers. These, however, were to be ascribed entirely to his entering

the Strait near the time of the equinox, when the worst weather was to be expected: but at a proper season of the year, not only a single vessel but a whole squadron might pass the Strait in less than three weeks. One great advantage of this passage above the doubling Cape Horn, is the facility with which fish is almost every where to be procured, with wild celery, scurvy grass, berries, and many other vegetables.

Having cleared the Strait, he pursued his course to the westward, and on the 9th of May, being in latitude 26 degrees 46 minutes south, longitude 94 degrees 45 minutes west, determined to steer a north-west course until he got the trade wind, and then to stand to the westward till he should fall in with Solomon's Islands, if any such there were, or make some new discovery. On the 31st there was a great number of birds about the ship, which made him conclude that land was at no great distance. But none was discovered till the 7th of June, in latitude 14 degrees 5 minutes, south longitude 144 degrees 58 minutes west. Then a small island was observed at the distance of some leagues. In a very short time another island was discovered to windward, much larger than the first. The ship stood for the small island, which had a most beautiful appearance, being surrounded with a beach of the finest white sand, and within covered with tall trees, which extended their shade to a great distance. It seemed to be about five miles in circumference, and from each end of it a spit runs into the sea, upon which the surge broke with great violence. The natives appeared on the beach with spears in their hands, at least sixteen feet long. They made large fires, probably for signals, as the same appeared immediately after on the larger island. The commodore sailed round this island, but, to the great regret and disappointment of the ship's company, no anchoring-place could be found within less than a cable's length of the shore, which was sur-

rounded close to the beach with a steep coral rock. The sailors, distressed with the scurvy, saw cocoa nuts in great abundance, the milk of which is perhaps the best antiscorbutic in the world. They had reason to believe that there were limes, bananas, and other fruits which are generally found between the tropics; and, to increase their mortification, they saw the shells of many turtles scattered about the shore. Having viewed this forbidden paradise with sensations of inexpressible distress, they wrought up to the other island, which was discovered to be equally inaccessible. They perceived several other low islands, or rather peninsulas, most of them being joined one to the other by a neck of land very narrow, and almost level with the surface of the water. Here the cocoa trees are easily discovered, being higher than any other part of the surface. A boat being sent to sound the lee side of these islands for an anchoring place, the Indians ran down in great numbers to the shore, armed with long spears and clubs, and making use of many threatening gestures. A gun was fired over their heads, which made them fly to the woods; but the boat returned without being able to discover any soundings close in with the surf, which broke very high upon the shore. The commodore thus finding it impossible to obtain any refreshment here, named this cluster of isles the Islands of Disappointment, and continued his voyage to the westward.

Land was again discovered in less than twenty-four hours, at the distance of six leagues. In the morning of the 10th of June, being within three miles of the shore, they perceived it to be a long low island, with a white beach, of a pleasant appearance, full of cocoa-nut and other trees. It was surrounded with a rock of red coral, and the natives behaved in the same hostile manner as those of the Islands of Disappointment. No anchoring place was to be found, nor was it possible to establish any friendly intercourse with

the Indians. When the vessel came to the westernmost point of this island the sailors observed another about four leagues distant. They visited every part of its coast, but could find no soundings. The boats having approached very near the shore, made signs to the natives, who appeared in great numbers, that they wanted water. The Indians readily understood them, and directed them to run down farther along the shore. Some of them swam off to our boats, carrying cocoa-nuts, and water in the shells. The principal object of the boats was to obtain some pearls; and the men, to assist them in explaining their meaning, had taken with them some of the pearl-oyster shells, which they had found in great numbers upon the coast. But all their endeavours to make themselves understood by the Indians were ineffectual; and, as no anchorage could be found for the ships, the commodore proceeded to the westward, having named these islands, which are situated in latitude 14 degrees 41 minutes south, longitude 149 degrees 15 minutes west, King George's Islands.

On the day following, that is the 13th of June, about three o'clock in the afternoon, land was again discovered, bearing S. S.W. distant about six leagues. The commodore stood for it, and found it to be a low and very narrow island, lying east and west, with a very green and pleasant appearance, but a dreadful surf breaking on every part of it. It abounds with inhabitants, is about twenty leagues in length, and lies in latitude 15 degrees south, and the westernmost point of it in longitude 151 degrees 53 minutes west. To this place, which was every where inaccessible, the commodore gave the name of Prince of Wales Island.

From the western extremity of this island he steered towards the north-west, and on the 16th saw large flocks of birds, which always took their flight to the southward when evening came on. This appearance, as well as the observation that all the little

islands, which had been discovered, were full of inhabitants, made it probable, that there was a continent, or at least some larger islands to the southward. But the sickness of the ship's crew made it impossible for them to pursue their discoveries in that direction. On the 21st of June they were in latitude 12 degrees 33 minutes south, longitude 167 degrees 47 minutes west, and next morning discovered a most dangerous reef of breakers, at the distance of a league. Land was seen a little afterwards from the mast-head, having the appearance of three islands, with rocks and broken ground between them. The south-east of these islands is about three leagues in length between the extreme points, from both which a reef runs out, upon which the sea breaks to a tremendous height. The islands themselves had a more fertile and beautiful appearance than any before discovered, and, like the rest, swarmed with people, whose habitations were seen standing in clusters all along the coast, which is unfortunately surrounded in such a manner by rocks and breakers, that it cannot be approached without the most imminent danger. The commodore, therefore, named these the Islands of Danger. They lie in latitude 10 degrees 15 minutes south, longitude 169 degrees 28 minutes west.

He steered from thence N. W. by W. and on the 24th discovered another island bearing S. S. W. distant about seven or eight leagues. It appeared, upon approaching nearer to it, to be low, and covered with wood, among which were cocoa-nut trees in great abundance. It is nearly thirty miles in circumference; a dreadful sea breaks upon almost every part of the coast, where no anchorage is to be found. The commodore sent out the boats with orders to land, if possible, and procure some refreshments for the sick. They brought off about two hundred cocoa-nuts, which, to persons afflicted with the scurvy, were an inestimable treasure. They reported, that there was no sign of the island's ever being inhabited,

They found thousands of sea-fowl sitting upon their nests, which were built in high trees; and these birds were so tame, that they suffered themselves to be knocked down, without taking to flight. The commodore was at first inclined to believe that this island was the same that in the Neptune François is called Maluita, and laid down about a degree to the eastward of the great island of St. Elizabeth, the principal of the Solomon's Islands; but, being afterwards convinced to the contrary, he called it the Duke of York's Island.

He continued his course till the 29th, in the track of Solomon's Islands, but found no reason to believe that any such existed in the situation assigned them by the French. He discovered, however, on the 2d of July, an island bearing north, distant about six leagues. Next morning it was found to be low and flat, of a delightful appearance, and full of wood, among which the cocoa-nut tree was very conspicuous. It is extremely populous, and the natives, in more than sixty canoes, put off from the shore and made towards the ship, which lay by to receive them. "After these Indians," says the commodore, "had gazed at us some time, one of them suddenly jumped out of his proa, swam to the ship, and ran up the side like a cat; as soon as he had stepped over the gunwale, he sat down upon it, and burst into a violent fit of laughter, then started up, and ran all over the ship, attempting to steal whatever he could lay his hands upon, but without success, for being stark naked it was impossible for him to conceal his booty for a moment. Our seamen put on him a jacket and trowsers, which produced great merriment, for he had all the gestures of a monkey newly dressed; we also gave him bread, which he eat with a voracious appetite, and after having played a thousand antic tricks, he leaped over board, jacket and trowsers and all, and swam back to his proa. After this several others swam to

the ship, ran up the side to the gun-room ports, and having crept in, snatched up whatever lay in their reach, and immediately leaped again into the sea, and swam away at a great rate, though some of them, having both hands full, held up their arms quite out of the water to prevent their plunder from being spoiled. These people are tall, well proportioned, and clean limbed; their skin is a bright copper-colour, their features extremely good, and there is a mixture of intrepidity and chearfulness in their countenances that is very striking. They had long black hair, which some of them wore tied up behind in a great bunch, others in three knots; some of them had long beards, some only whiskers, and some nothing more than a small tuft at the point of the chin. They were all of them stark naked, except their ornaments, which consisted of shells, very prettily disposed and strung together, and were worn round their necks, wrists, and waists. One of these men, who appeared to be a person of some consequence, had a string of human teeth about his waist, which was probably a trophy of his military courage, for he would not part with it in exchange for any thing that I could offer him. Some of them were unarmed, but others had one of the most dangerous weapons I had ever seen. It was a kind of spear, very broad at the end, and stuck full of sharks' teeth, which are as sharp as a lancet, at the sides, for about three feet of its length. We showed them some cocoa-nuts, and made signs that we wanted more; but instead of giving any intimation that they could supply us, they endeavoured to take away those we had." The commodore sent out boats to sound, and they reported that there was ground at the depth of thirty fathom within two cables length of the shore; but as the bottom was coral rock, and the soundings much too near the breakers for a ship to lie in safety, he was obliged to make sail, without procuring any refreshments. This island, to which his officers gave

the name of Byron's Island, lies in latitude 1 degree 18 minutes south, longitude 173 degrees 46 minutes east. Here ended the discoveries made by the Dolphin. She afterwards shaped her course for the Isle of Tinian, which, to her great regret and disappointment, appeared to be no longer that delightful place of which the elegant author of Anson's Voyage has given so luxuriant a description. From thence she proceeded to Batavia, and having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, proceeded on her return to England. She came to anchor in the Downs on the 9th of May, 1766, having been just nine weeks in coming from the Cape, and somewhat more than two and twenty months upon the voyage round the world.

We have not interrupted the course of Commodore Byron's discoveries, by relating the transactions of the year 1765, which if not the ultimate cause, were the immediate occasion of those disturbances that gradually proceeded to such a degree of violence, as required the most vigorous exertions of the naval strength of this kingdom. The parliament, which assembled towards the close of the year 1764, voted sixteen thousand men to be employed in the sea-service for the year 1765, including four thousand two hundred and eighty-seven marines; and a sum not exceeding 4*l. per* man *per* month for their maintenance. The ships stationed in the British seas had no call to exert their activity; but those on the coast of America were employed in the same service which had been attended with such bad effects the preceding year. The trade of America with Great Britain had increased, during the last years, and after the conclusion of the war, beyond the hopes and speculations of the most sanguine politicians. The Americans bought annually to the amount of three millions of British commodities. Their trade, however, was not confined to the mother country. It swelled out on every side; and having filled all its proper channels to the brim, overflowed with a

rich abundance. In short, the contraband trade kept pace with the regular, and was its most natural effect. This, doubtless, was an evil; but being connected with the cause of our prosperity, it was an evil that ought to have been treated with the greatest delicacy and address. Unfortunately for the interests of the British empire on both sides of the Atlantic, a gentleman now presided in the treasury, who had beheld with peculiar jealousy the increase of this contraband trade. Mr. Grenville, when first lord of the Admiralty, and not strictly called upon in his official line, had presented a very strong memorial to the lords of the treasury, heavily complaining of the growth of the illicit trade in America. We have already hinted at the bad consequences arising from the attempt to put an entire stop to the commerce between the British and Spanish colonies. These were seen and acknowledged even by administration. A law was made therefore, the 5th of April, 1764, which rendered legal, in some respects, the intercourse between the different establishments in the new world. But the same law loaded this commerce with very heavy impositions, and ordered the money arising from these to be paid in specie, into the British exchequer. While it was thought expedient to fit out armed cutters, under the command of sea-officers, to prevent smuggling in the British seas, the naval commanders on the coasts of America were employed in rendering effectual the late commercial regulations. These gentlemen could not be supposed to become acquainted with all the forms which this business required. They were unacquainted with the cases in which ships were liable to penalties; nor did they better understand those cases in which they were even exempted from detention. Hurried on by the natural violence of their dispositions, and acting with that irregular vivacity and contempt of formal rules, which they had exerted with such advantage and glory in defence of their country against the

common enemy, they ruined the interests of trade, while they disappointed the expectations of the treasury. The commerce between British subjects was the first that suffered, notwithstanding that vast number and intricacy of bonds, clearances, cockets, registers, &c. which had been established to protect it. The trade carried on between the British and Spanish colonies, which was so extremely advantageous to the former, was nearly annihilated. The new-made custom-house officers seized, indiscriminately, all vessels carrying on that trade, whether belonging to fellow-subjects or foreigners, which the ordinary custom-house officers stationed on them, had always permitted to pass unnoticed. Besides the general traffic between the English, French, and Spanish Americans, there was a particular and most advantageous trade carried on between North America and the French West Indies. It consisted chiefly in an exchange of such commodities as must otherwise have remained a drug, if not an incumbrance, on the hands of the possessors. The balance was paid in specie to North America, which, together with the balance of the Spanish trade, enabled them to make their remittances to Great Britain. This intercourse between North America and the French West India Islands, was considered as so necessary to the former, that it was permitted to be maintained during the first years of the war; directly, by means of flags of truce; indirectly, through the Dutch and Danish islands; and, at length, through the Spanish port of Monte Christi in the Island of Hispaniola. When the English, towards the conclusion of the war, had obtained the most distinguished advantages, and in a manner laid siege to all the French West India Islands, government determined to put a stop to this intercourse, not so much in the light of a contraband trade, as in that of a treasonable practice, without which it would be impossible for these valuable islands to hold out against our attempts to

reduce them. When the war concluded, the arguments of treason ceased, and this intercourse again returned to its former flourishing condition. But, upon the establishment of the new revenue laws, it sunk under the same blow which destroyed the general commercial intercourse of the new world.

Before the establishing of these laws produced any considerable effect in Great Britain, it was attended with very fatal consequences to the situation and circumstances, as well as to the temper and disposition of the colonists. Immediately on a stop being put to their trade, they came to a resolution not to buy any clothing they could possibly live without, that was not of their own manufacturing. Not having the usual returns to make to Great Britain for the woollen goods which they usually purchased from her, they adopted a plan of retrenchment dictated by necessity, and gave up all hopes of being clothed in the finery of their mother country. The resolution taken with regard to this article was rendered general by a vote of the House of Commons, which followed the law imposing new duties upon their foreign trade: "That, towards farther defraying the necessary expences of protecting the colonies, it may be proper to charge certain stamp-duties upon them." When this determination of the British legislature was known in America, the inhabitants entered into associations, not only to abide by their former resolution taken in consequence of the interruption of their trade by the naval custom-house officers, but to encourage as much as possible all kinds of manufacture within themselves. These measures were despised by the ministry, who concluded, that because the wool of the colonies is not so good as that of Great Britain, it would be impossible for them not to depend upon her for that article; and because the other commodities which they purchased from this country were such as it would be extremely inconvenient for them to want, they must be soon dis-

gusted with an agreement, entered into in a moment of resentment, which must be more distressing to themselves, than injurious to the mother country. But the firm perseverance of the colonies in adhering to the principles of their association, proved the weakness of this reasoning. They were ready to submit to every other hardship rather than yield to what they deemed an infringement of their liberties.

In consequence of this general disposition of persons of all ranks in these colonies, great evils began to be felt, and still greater to be apprehended. A temporary interruption of commercial intercourse between England and America immediately took place which could not fail to be extremely prejudicial to the former. The numerous body employed in preparing, buying, or transporting goods to the American market, were deprived of employment. While individuals were reduced to beggary, the revenue suffered in proportion by the want of the export and import duties. Yet neither these evils, nor the fear of totally alienating America from the interest of Great Britain, deterred the ministry from passing that law, the bare suspicion of which had occasioned such disgust. The stamp-act made its way through both houses, and received the royal assent by commission, the 22d of March, 1765.

The news of this unfortunate event first reached the province of New England, which of all the English colonies had ever the strongest bent towards republican principles. The obstinacy and hatred which already possessed them, were converted, by this fresh instance of what their leaders taught them to deem little better than tyranny, into the most violent fury, which every where broke out into action. The ships in the harbour hoisted their colours half-mast high, in token of the deepest mourning; the bells rang muffled; the populace treated the act with the most licentious contempt; many of the better sort gradually mixed in these tumults, and the assemblies not

only of New England but of all the considerable provinces, which had by this time caught the flame, instead of barely conniving at the people's asserting their independence by tumultuous acts, proceeded to avow it themselves in the most expressive terms, grounding it on the same arguments which their friends on this side the water had already used to prove it. The history of what follows is that of the disgrace of Great Britain. The ministry, whether unwilling or unable to support by force of arms the law which they had thought proper to enact, resigned their places. Their successors yielded to the storm, instead of resisting it, while resistance could yet be effectual. They obtained a momentary popularity by repealing the stamp-act, which had been so offensive to the colonies, and so hurtful to a considerable part of the trading interest of Great Britain. But the factious, turbulent spirit which had taken possession of the former, was far from being mollified by the lenient concessions in their favour, and the great consideration shewn to their circumstances by their legislature. The ministry, whose debility or moderation had tended to confirm them in their disregard to the authority of parliament, did not long continue in office. But the effects of their administration were permanent. The colonists were no longer satisfied in committing private acts of outrage; they did not content themselves with showing disrespect to their governors and other servants of the crown; but openly set at defiance the power of the whole legislative body. Even the assembly of New York, a province where the ideas of legal subordination had been long and firmly established, voted in direct opposition to an act of last session for providing the troops with necessaries in their quarters, and passed an act of assembly by which these provinces were regulated in a mode totally inconsistent with that prescribed by parliament.

Administration combated this rebellious usurpation

of power by another act of legislature, incapacitating the assembly of New York for all legal functions, till they had, in every respect, complied with the British regulations respecting the troops. At the same time, they opposed the daring spirit of the other provinces by new revenue laws, which, as no vigorous means were used to enforce them, were as nugatory as the former. The Rockingham administration repealed the stamp-act, but asserted the right of taxation; their successors, the duke of Grafton was now at the head of the treasury, exercised this right, by laying duties on the importation of glass, paper, and some other commodities, into the colonies. The officers appointed to collect this revenue, were every where treated like criminals; and the authority of Great Britain was totally disregarded. Besides the tumultuous riots which happened in particular parts, the temper and general conduct of the whole people became every day more licentious. That republican spirit began first openly to display itself in Boston. Having adopted resolutions of a nature the most violent and factious, the assembly there sent a circular letter, signed by the speaker, the 11th of February, 1768, to all the other assemblies of North America. In this they expatiated largely on the natural rights of men, and the tyranny of the British legislature, and they summoned the colonies to unite in one common cause for maintaining their privileges inviolate. This letter was answered by many of the provinces in a similar tone; and the flame of rebellion began to spread over the whole North American continent.

One vigorous measure gave it a considerable check in the place where it had first broke out. Two regiments were ordered from Ireland, to support the authority of parliament over the inhabitants of Boston; and several detachments from different parts of the continent rendezvoused at Halifax, for the same purpose. Upon the first rumour of these movements,

the Bostonians were as much alarmed, as if they had been on the point of suffering all the horrors of invasion from a cruel foreign enemy. The assembly, or convention, which on many occasions had treated not only their governor, but even the parliament of Great Britain with the most indecent asperity of expression, drew up a memorial in terms of great moderation, disclaiming all pretence to any authority whatever, and advising and recommending it to the people to pay the greatest deference to government, and to wait with patience the result of his Majesty's wisdom and clemency for a redress of their grievances. If the most unhappy infatuation had not prevailed over the councils of Great Britain, the sudden change produced by this appearance of vigour, might have opened the eyes of administration, and taught them that coercive measures alone could reduce the Americans to a sense of their duty. But instead of pushing the advantage which they had obtained, in order to destroy the very seeds of rebellion, the first deceitful appearance of tranquillity made them relax their severity; the Americans had time to recollect themselves, and to recover from their panic; and the important moment was again lost of establishing, without great effusion of blood, the sovereignty of parliament over the whole British empire.

While so little attention was bestowed on preserving the dominions of which we were already in possession, continual efforts were made for extending the limits of our territories by fresh discoveries. In August, 1766, the Dolphin, in which Commodore Byron had circumnavigated the world, was again sent out under the command of Captain Wallis, with the Swallow, commanded by Captain Carteret. They proceeded together to the west end of the Straits of Magellan, and separated in the Great Southern Ocean. Captain Wallis directed his course more westerly than any navigator before him had done in so high a latitude; but he met with no land till he came within

the tropic, where he discovered the islands, Whitsunday, Queen Charlotte, Egmont, Duke of Gloucester, Duke of Cumberland, Maitea, Otaheite, Eimeo, Tapanamou, Howe, Scilly, Boscawen, Keppel, and Wallis; and returned to England in May, 1768. Captain Carteret kept a different route, in which he discovered the islands Osnaburgh, Gloucester, Queen Charlotte, Carteret, Gower, and the Strait between New Britain and New Ireland; and returned in March, 1769.

Captain Wallis having cleared the Straits of Magellan the 12th of April, 1767, proceeded westward, but did not fall in with any undiscovered land till the 6th of June. A few days before, the sailors had observed several gannets, which, with the uncertainty of the weather, inclined them to believe that land was not far distant. This belief was confirmed by their seeing a great many birds on the 5th; and the day after, being in latitude nineteen degrees south, and longitude one hundred and thirty-seven west, they saw plainly from the deck a low island, at about five or six leagues distance. When they were within a few miles of this island they saw another, bearing north-west by west. The captain sent his boats manned and armed to the shore of the former, which returned in a few hours, bringing with them several cocoa nuts and a considerable quantity of scurvy grass. The crews reported, that they had seen none of the inhabitants, but had visited several huts, or rather sheds, consisting only of a roof, neatly thatched with cocoa-nut and palm-leaves, supported upon posts, and open all around. They had found no anchorage, and the surf was so high that it was with difficulty they had got on shore, the whole island being surrounded with a reef of rocks, which rendered it extremely difficult of access. The captain, therefore, finding it answered no purpose to continue longer at this island, which, being discovered on Whitsun-eve, he called Whitsun-island, stood

away for the other, distant about four leagues. When the ship came under the lee of the latter, the boats were immediately dispatched, but could find no soundings till within half a cable's length of the shore. They landed, however, and found the island sandy and level, full of trees, but without underwood, and abounding with scurvy grass, and wells of excellent water. As the boats approached the shore, the Indians thronged down towards the beach, and put themselves upon their defence with long pikes, as if to dispute the landing. The boats' crew then lay upon their oars, and made signs of friendship, shewing at the same time several strings of beads, ribbands, knives, and other trinkets. The Indians still made signs for them to depart, but at the same time eyed the trinkets with such a wishful curiosity, as left room to expect that it might be possible to establish an intercourse. This, however, was not effected; but the boats landed, and the ship was supplied with water and other necessary refreshments. Captain Wallis took possession of the island in the name of George the Third, and named it Charlotte Island, in honour of her Majesty. It is about six miles long, and one broad, and lies in latitude nineteen degrees eighteen minutes south, longitude one hundred and thirty-eight degrees four minutes west. The same day that they left this place, they discovered another island, bearing east by north, distant fifteen miles. Here the sea breaks over a reef of rock, running from east to west, and forms itself into a lagoon in the middle of the island, which is low, covered with trees, but without any huts or inhabitants. The Indians belonging to Charlotte Island had fled thither in their canoes when the English landed on their coast; and seeing their enemies, as they imagined, pursuing them to this place, they left their women and children on the beach, and advanced with pikes and fire-brands, making a great noise, and dancing in a strange manner. The soil of this island was sandy, there is no

verdure under the trees, the shore every where rocky, and no anchorage. The captain therefore left a place where there was no prospect of obtaining any refreshment, having first named it Egmont Island, in honour of the first lord of the Admiralty. It lies in latitude 19 degrees 20 minutes south, longitude 138 degrees 30 minutes west.

On the 11th of June, about mid-day, they saw an island, bearing west-south-west, and stood for it. At four in the afternoon they were within a quarter of a mile of the shore, but could find no soundings, the island being surrounded by rocks, on which the sea breaks very high. As to appearance, soil, and inhabitants, it differed little from the islands which they had just left. The captain named it Gloucester Island, in honour of his royal highness the duke of that name. It lies in latitude 19 degrees 11 minutes south, longitude 140 degrees 4 minutes west.

In sailing westward, the captain discovered two other small islands, the first of which he named after the duke of Cumberland, and the second after Prince William Henry. These, however, had nothing to recommend them above those already mentioned; so that he continued to proceed westward, in hopes of finding higher land, where the ship might come to an anchor, and such refreshments as they stood in need of be procured. On the 17th he discovered high land, with frequent fires, which proved it to be inhabited. This also was an island, nearly circular, about two miles in diameter. There was no anchorage to be found: but the inhabitants appeared more numerous than the smallness of the place could support, which gave hopes that there were lands of greater extent not far distant, which might be less difficult of access. The captain having named this island, which lies in latitude 17 degrees 51 minutes south, longitude 147 degrees 30 minutes west, Osnaburgh, in honour of Prince Frederick, bore away to the south-west; and the same day discovered very

high land in the west-south-west. This was the famous Island of O-Taheite, which Captain Wallis named King George the Third's Island. It consists of two principal divisions, which are united by a narrow neck of land. The circumference of both is about forty leagues, lying in latitude 17 degrees 46 minutes south, and longitude 149 degrees 13 minutes west. The Dolphin happened to approach this coast the 18th of June, during a thick fog; and the crew were much surprised, when it cleared away, to find themselves in the middle of some hundreds of canoes. The Indians, who assembled to the number of many thousands, behaved at first in a friendly manner; one of them holding up a branch of the plantain-tree as a token of peace. But afterwards having surrounded the ship with a number of canoes loaded with stones, they began, on a signal given, to throw them with great violence, which obliged the captain to order some guns to be fired. The terror of the fire-arms soon made them desist from hostilities; and an intercourse was established, by which the English procured hogs, fowls, bread-fruit, apples, bananas, and cocoa-nuts, in exchange for nails, hatchets, and various trinkets, which the Indians held in great value. The Dolphin lay off this island from the 24th of June to the 27th of July; during which the English examined the interior parts as well as the coast, which they found to be luxuriantly fertile and extremely populous. The inhabitants are well lodged, and clothed with a stuff made of the macerated fibres of a shrub which grows in great abundance in their country. They are of the ordinary European size, a tawny complexion, the men well made, and the women handsome. Captain Wallis could not discover what were their religious sentiments, or whether they entertained any ideas of superior and invisible powers. But having become somewhat acquainted with them, he found them not only just in their dealings, but generous and humane;

and so extremely susceptible of attachment, that several of them, especially the queen of the island, were exceedingly afflicted when their visitants were obliged to depart.

After leaving this island, which has been examined with more attention in later voyages, the captain steered his course for Tinian. In his way thither he fell in with several small islands, none of which afforded good anchorage. The principal of them is Boscawen's Island, lying in latitude 15 degrees 50 minutes south, longitude 175 degrees west; Keppel's Isle, in latitude 15 degrees 55 minutes south, longitude 175 degrees 3 minutes west; and Wallis's Isle, in latitude 13 degrees 18 minutes south, longitude 177 degrees west. The boats, in examining the last, found that in two or three places there is anchorage eighteen, fourteen, and twelve fathom water, upon sand and coral, without a reef of rocks which surrounded the island. There is also a breach in this reef, about sixty fathom broad; and a ship, if pressed with necessity, might anchor here in eight fathom, but it is not safe to moor with a greater length than half a cable. The plans of all these islands were delivered by the captain, on his return, into the hands of the Admiralty, with their longitudes and latitudes so accurately laid down, that succeeding navigators had no difficulty in finding them.

Captain Carteret, as we have already mentioned, separated from his companion after passing the Straits of Magellan, and steered a course considerably nearer to the equator. On the 26th of July, 1767, being in latitude 10 degrees south, longitude 167 degrees west, he was in hopes of falling in with some of the islands called Solomon's Islands, this being the latitude in which the southernmost of them is laid down. What increased this expectation was, the seeing a number of sea-birds, which often hovered about the ship; but the captain was not so fortunate as to meet with any land; and as he sailed over the southern

limits of that part of the ocean in which Solomon's Islands are said to lie, and Commodore Byron, in the voyage formerly described, had traversed the northern, without finding them, there is reason to conclude, that if there be any such islands, their situation in all our charts is erroneously laid down.

Captain Carteret continued his voyage nearly in the same parallel, towards the west; but did not discover land till the 12th of August, when he fell in with a cluster of islands, of which he counted seven. Having anchored at about three cables length from the shore, he soon observed some of the natives, who were black, with woolly heads, and stark naked. A boat was dispatched in search of a watering-place, at which the natives disappeared; and the boat returned with an account that there was a fine run of fresh water abreast of the ship, and close to the beach, but that the whole country in that part being almost an impenetrable forest, the watering would be very dangerous, if the natives should endeavour to prevent it; that there were no esculent vegetables for the refreshment of the sick, nor any habitations, as far as the country had been examined, which was wild, foresty, and mountainous. The captain, therefore, tried some other places, where the sailors saw hogs, poultry, cocoa-nut trees, plantains, bananas, and a great variety of other vegetable productions, as they sailed along the shore. Unfortunately, however, an unhappy dispute arose between the boat's crew and the natives, who defended themselves bravely with bows and arrows, which they fired in regular platoons. This prevented all friendly intercourse; and the ship's company were so much weakened by disease, that they could not hope to obtain what they wanted by force. The captain gave the general name of Queen Charlotte Islands to the whole cluster, and assigned particular names to the most remarkable. That which he called Howe's, lies in latitude 11 degrees 10 minutes south, longitude 164

degrees 43 minutes east. Egmont Island lies in latitude 10 degrees 40 minutes south, longitude 164 degrees 49 minutes east. The east sides of these two islands, which lie exactly in a line with each other, including the passage between them of four miles, extend about eleven leagues; both of them appear to be fertile, and afford a very agreeable prospect, being covered with tall trees of a beautiful verdure. Lord Howe's Island, though more flat and even than the other, is notwithstanding high land. At the distance of about thirteen leagues from the north-east point of Egmont Island, is another of a stupendous height, and a conical figure, the top of which is shaped like a funnel, emitting smoke, though no flame. This he called Volcano Island. To a low flat land, which, when Howe and Egmont Islands were right a-head, bore north-west, he gave the name of Keppel's Island. It lies in latitude 10 degrees 15 minutes south, longitude 165 degrees 5 minutes east. The largest of two others to the south-east, he called Lord Edgecumb's Island, the small one Perry's Island; the other islands, of which there are several, he did not particularly name.

As all hopes of obtaining refreshment in those parts were at an end, and the ship was not in a condition of pursuing her voyage to the southward, the captain gave orders to steer north, hoping to refresh at the country which Dampier has named Nova Britannia. Accordingly he sailed from Egmont Island the 18th of August, with a fresh trade wind; and on the 20th, discovered a flat low land, in latitude 7 degrees 56 minutes south, longitude 158 degrees 56 minutes east, which he called Gower's Island. Here, to the great mortification of all on board, no anchorage could be found, but some cocoa nuts were purchased from the natives, who approached the ship in their canoes. They were, in every respect, the same sort of people that had been met with in the neighbouring places. The night

was exceedingly dark, and by day-break, a current had set the ship considerably to the southward of the island, and in sight of two others, situated nearly east and west of each other. That to the east is much the smallest, and was named Simpson's Island. The other is lofty, has a stately appearance, lies in latitude 8 degrees 26 minutes south, longitude 159 degrees 14 minutes east, and its length from east to west is above six leagues. It was named by the officers, Carteret's Island, in honour of their commander. A boat was sent on shore, which the natives endeavoured to cut off, and hostilities having thus commenced, the English seized their canoe, in which they found an hundred cocoa nuts, The canoe was large enough to carry eight or ten men, neatly built, adorned with shell work, and figures rudely painted. The people were armed with bows and arrows, and spears pointed with flints. By some signs, which they made, it appeared, that they were not wholly unacquainted with the use of fire arms. Like the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, they were quite naked, and equally dexterous at swimming and managing their canoes. In the following days, the ship found no soundings at the small islands which she fell in with, and which the captain supposes to be those called Ohang Java, discovered by Tasman. They are nine in number, and to the north, lie two others, which are mentioned by no preceding navigator, and which the captain named Sir Charles Hardy, and Winchelsea Islands. The former lies in latitude 40 degrees 50 minutes south, longitude 154 degrees east; the latter is distant about ten leagues, in the direction of south by east.

On the 26th of August, they saw another large island to the northward, which was supposed to be St. John's Island, discovered by Schouten, and soon after, they saw high land to the westward, which proved to be Nova Britannia. The next day, a north-westerly current sent them into a deep bay or

gulph, which has been distinguished by Dampier, by the name of St. George's Bay. From this place, they sailed to a little cove at several miles distance, to which they gave the name of English Cove. Here they found wood and water in great plenty, also rock oysters, and cockles of a very large size. Higher on the shore they procured cocoa nuts, and the upper part of the tree that bears them, which is called the cabbage. This cabbage is a white, crisp, juicy substance, which, used raw, tastes somewhat like a chesnut, but, when boiled, is superior to the best parsnip. For each of these cabbages, they were obliged to cut down a tree, by which means, they destroyed, in the parent stock, a great many cocoa nuts, which are the most powerful antiscorbutic in the world. The ship's company, who were extremely afflicted with the disorder, recovered fast, and had an opportunity of examining the neighbourhood, where the country is high and mountainous, but covered with trees of various kinds, some of which are of an enormous growth, and probably would be useful for many purposes. Among others, they found the nutmeg tree in great plenty, though the nuts were not then ripe, and appeared not to be of the best kind, owing perhaps to their growing wild and being overshadowed by taller trees. The different kinds of palm, with the beetle nut tree, various species of the aloe, canes, bamboos, and rattans, grow with wild luxuriance. The woods abound with pigeons, doves, rooks, parrots, and a large bird with black plumage, that makes a noise somewhat like the barking of a dog. The people sent out to examine the country, fell in with several habitations of the natives, which appeared, by the shells that were scattered about them, and the fires half consumed, to have been but very lately deserted. From the meanness of these hovels, it appeared, that the inhabitants stood low even in the scale of savage life.

English Cove lies a few miles from Wallis Island,

which is distant about three leagues from Cape St. George, the latitude of which is five degrees south, and its longitude one hundred and fifty-two degrees, nineteen minutes east, about two thousand five hundred leagues due west from the continent of America. The captain weighed anchor the 7th of September, having taken possession of this country, with all its islands, bays, ports, and harbours for his Majesty King George the Third. This was performed, by nailing upon a high tree, a piece of board, faced with lead, on which was engraved the English union flag, with the name of the ship and her commander, the name of the Cove, and the time of her coming in and sailing out of it. A boat had been sent out several times to examine the harbours of the coast, and from one of these expeditions returned with a load of cocoa nuts, which she procured in a fine small harbour about four leagues west north west from English Cove. Of this harbour, the captain received so agreeable accounts, that he thought proper to visit it, and found that it was formed by two islands and the main. The largest, which is to the north west, he called Cocoa nut Island, and the smaller, which is to the south east, he called Leigh's Island. His officers named the harbour in honour of their captain; it is by far the best station they had fallen in with during their long run from the Straits of Magellan. The captain would have continued here a sufficient time to give his people all the refreshments they wanted, if the lives of all on board, in their present unhealthy condition, the quantity of ship's provisions, and the shattered state of the vessel, had not depended upon their getting to Batavia, while the monsoon continued to blow from the eastward.

He weighed anchor the 9th, but was again driven by winds and currents into St. George's Bay, which contrary to what had been supposed, he found instead of a bay, to be a channel between two islands. This channel he found to be divided by a pretty large

island, which he named in honour of the duke of York, and several small ones lying scattered around it. The land of the Duke of York's Island lies level, and has a delightful appearance; the centre is covered with lofty woods, and near the shore are the houses of the natives, extremely numerous, built among groves of cocoa nut trees, the whole forming a prospect the most beautiful and romantic that can be imagined. The largest of the two islands that are divided by the channel or strait, which is about eight leagues broad, the captain left in possession of its ancient name of New Britain. It lies on the south side, and there is upon it some high land, and three remarkable hills close to each other, which he called the Mother and Daughters. To the northern island, he gave the name of New Ireland, and to the strait, that of St. George's Channel. Continuing to steer along the coast of New Ireland, he discovered a large island, with a pleasant appearance, very populous, which he named in honour of the earl of Sandwich. It lies in latitude two degrees fifty-three minutes south, longitude one hundred and forty-nine degrees seventeen minutes east. All the time the ship lay off this island, there was an incessant noise like the beating of a drum: and ten canoes put off from New Ireland, with about an hundred and fifty men on board. The people are black and woolly headed, but have not the flat noses and thick lips of the Africans. None of them would come on board, but conveyed such trifles as they exchanged for the nails and iron offered them by the English, upon the end of a long stick. The canoes were long, narrow, and neatly made; one of them could not be less than ninety feet: formed, however of a single tree, rowed by three and thirty men, and without any appearance of sails. These negroes, though stark naked, except a few ornaments of shells upon their arms and legs, had their heads and beards abundantly covered with white powder.

The western extremity of New Ireland, the cap

tain named Cape Byron. It lies in latitude two degrees thirty minutes south, longitude one hundred and forty-nine degrees two minutes east. Over against the coast of New Ireland, to the westward of Cape Byron, lies a fine large island, covered with trees, to which he gave the name of New Hanover. To the westward of New Hanover, he discovered, at the distance of eight leagues, seven small islands, which were named, the Duke of Portland's Islands; the middle of which lies in latitude two degrees twenty-nine minutes south, longitude one hundred and forty-eight degrees twenty-seven minutes east. The ship was now clear of the strait, whose length from Cape St. George to Cape Byron is above eighty leagues. The necessity which pushed Captain Carteret on this discovery, may be very advantageous to future navigators, as St. George's Channel is a much better and shorter passage than round all the lands and islands to the northward; and refreshments of various kinds may be procured from the natives inhabiting the opposite coasts of the channel, or the islands that lie near them, for beads, ribbands, looking glasses,and especially iron tools, and cutlery ware, of which they are immoderately fond.

The captain proceeded westward the 15th of September, and the same day discovered an island of considerable extent, with many others lying to the southward. From these, many canoes, crowded with Indians, paddled to the ship: they made various signs, which were repeated, to show that whatever they meant, the same was meant to them. In order to invite them on board, the ship's company held up whatever trifles they thought would give them pleasure: but they had no sooner come within reach of the people on deck, than they threw their lances at them with great force. It was necessary to repress their fury by firing small shot, with which one of them was killed, and the canoes rowed off with great expedition. In sailing along, many other canoes

appeared, and behaved in the same hostile manner: From one, in which a man was killed by the shot of a musket, the rest precipitately leaped into the sea, which afforded an opportunity of seizing the canoe, that was full fifty feet long, though one of the smallest that had come out, and filled with fish, turtle, yams, and cocoa nuts. The ship being disengaged from this fierce and unfriendly people, pursued her course along the other islands, which are between twenty and thirty in number, and of considerable extent; one in particular would alone make a large kingdom. The captain not having had an observation of the sun for several days, and there being strong currents, could not exactly ascertain their situation, but he judged the middle of the largest to lie in latitude two degrees eighteen minutes south, longitude one hundred and forty-six degrees forty-four minutes east, at the distance of five and thirty leagues from New Hanover. He called them Admiralty Islands, and, if his ship had been in better condition, and provided with proper articles for the Indian trade, he would have examined them with particular attention. especially as their appearance is very inviting, being clothed with a beautiful verdure, the woods lofty and luxuriant, interspersed with spots cleared for plantation, groves of cocoa nut trees, and houses of the natives, who seem to be very numerous. With these islands, it would be easy to establish a commercial intercourse, as the superiority of our fire arms would soon persuade the natives that all contest is vain; and the traffic would be advantageous on both sides, as the Indians might be supplied with many articles which they are greatly in want of, and the English might, in all probability, be supplied with the valuable spiceries produced in the Moluccas; for the Admiralty Islands lie in the same degree of latitude, and the nutmeg tree was found on the coast of New Ireland, a soil comparatively barren and rocky.

Having passed these islands, the ship continued her course west by north, with a fine eastern breeze, and on the 19th, discovered two small islands, both low land, level and green. The nearest the captain called Durour's Island. Its latitude is about one degree fourteen minutes south, its longitude one hundred and forty-three degrees twenty-one minutes east. At no great distance, is the other, which was called Matty's Island, and two others, still smaller, lying to the south-west, were called Stephen's Islands. All these have a beautiful green appearance, are covered with trees, and replenished with inhabitants. On the 25th of September, the ship fell in again with land, which proved to be three islands, the largest lying fifty miles north of the line, and in longitude one hundred and thirty-seven degrees fifty-one minutes east. Several canoes soon came off, filled with the natives, who, after making signs of peace, came on board without the least appearance of fear or distrust. They sold their cocoa nuts with great pleasure for small pieces of iron. They are of the Indian copper colour, their features pleasing, their teeth remarkably white and even, of the common stature, nimble, vigorous and active in a surprising degree. They are not like the other people on all the islands that had been visited, quite naked, though they had only a slight covering for the waist, which consisted of a narrow piece of fine matting. They offered to leave a certain number of their people as pledges, if the sailors would go on shore, to which they strongly urged them: and one of them would by no means leave the ship when she pursued her course; the captain carried him to Celebes, where, being taken ill at sea, he unfortunately died. The islands from which he had been taken, were remarkably small and low, the largest being no more than five miles in compass. The captain gave them the name of Freewill Islands, from the sociable and benevolent disposition of the natives.

The remaining route of Captain Carteret to the coast of Mindano, and from thence to the island of Celebes, had been explored by Dampier and other navigators. But the captain has rectified several mistakes which his predecessors had fallen into, particularly in the account of the Strait of Macassar. He made the entrance of this strait the 14th of November, and anchored before the town of Macassar the 15th of December. In the neighbourhood of this place, he obtained permission, after much altercation, and many threats, used with the Dutch governor, to continue a considerable time, until the crew were a little recovered from their languor and debility, and the ship put in a condition to undertake her voyage to Batavia. This voyage being successfully performed, the captain doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and had a pleasant passage to the island of St. Helena. He left this place the 24th of January, 1769, to prosecute his voyage to England; and after a month's navigation, discovered a ship to leeward, in the south-west quarter, which hoisted French colours. When this ship was near enough to hail the Swallow, Captain Carteret was surprised to hear the Frenchman mention his own name, as well as that of his ship, enquiring after his health, and telling him, that after the return of the Dolphin to Europe, it was believed he had suffered shipwreck in the Straits of Magellan, and that two ships had been sent out in quest of him. The captain asked in his turn, who it was that was so well acquainted with all these particulars, and how this knowledge had been acquired. The Frenchman answered, that the ship was in the service of their East India Company, commanded by M. Bougainville, returning from the Isle of France, who had got an account of the voyage of the Dolphin and Swallow from the French gazette at the Cape of Good Hope. An offer was then made of supplying the Swallow with refreshments, which was a mere verbal civility,

as the ship had immediately sailed from the same places at which M. Bougainville himself had been supplied; and it was asked if Captain Carteret had any letters to send to France. As he happened to have several, which he had received from French gentlemen at the Cape, this furnished an occasion to M. Bougainville, to send his boat on board, which was precisely what he desired. A young officer, dressed in a waistcoat and trowsers, but whose rank Captain Carteret soon found to be superior to his appearance, came down to the cabin; and being asked several questions by Captain Carteret, to which he replied with great readiness and ingenuity, contrived to introduce enquiries concerning the Straits of Magellan, the hardships which the Swallow had suffered in her voyage, and other topics equally interesting. These questions the captain endeavoured to elude as long as it was possible; but the queries of the young Frenchman becoming too particular and troublesome, having desired to know on what side the equator the Swallow had crossed the South Seas, the captain rose up abruptly with some marks of displeasure. His visitor was going to make an apology, to prevent which, Captain Carteret desired him to present his compliments to M. Bougainville, and in return for his obliging civilities, present him with one of the arrows with which the Indians had wounded some of the English.

When the captain came on deck, he was asked by his lieutenant whether the Frenchman had entertained him with an account of his voyage. This led him to explain the general purport of their conversation, upon which the lieutenant observed, that the boat's crew had not kept their secret as well as their officer, but given sufficient intimation, that they had been round the world, mentioning the different places they had touched at, and many particulars of their voyage. This disingenuous artifice of M. Bougainville, to draw Captain Carteret into a breach of his obliga-

tion to secrecy, was unworthy of that spirit of enterprise, which led him to undertake so dangerous a navigation, and which he has related with so much elegance.

According to his own account, he sailed from France in November, 1766, in the frigate La Boudeuse; and having spent some time on the coast of Brazil, and at Falkland islands, got into the southern ocean by the Straits of Magellan, in January 1768. In this ocean he discovered the four Facardines, the Isle of Lanciers, Harpe Island, Thrum Cap, and Bow Island. About twenty leagues farther to the west, he discovered four other islands, and afterwards fell in with Otaheite, Isles of Navigators, and Forlorn Hope, which to him were new discoveries. He then passed through between the Hebrides; discovered the shoal of Diana, the land of Cape Deliverance; several small islands to the north: passed the coast of New Ireland; touched at Batavia; and arrived in France in March, 1769, about the same time that Captain Carteret arrived in England.

The Admiralty did not wait for his arrival to fit out another expedition, which was attended with circumstances peculiarly interesting. The brilliant discoveries of Captain Wallis, who returned to England in May, 1768, inspired the most sanguine hopes of completing the great purpose for which all these voyages had been undertaken. Many southern lands were already discovered, which heightened the probability of finding at length the great *Terra Australis incognita*, which had been so long sought for in vain. Among the countries which Wallis had discovered and explored was the Island of Otaheite, the situation of which appeared extremely proper for answering a particular purpose, which the Admiralty had in their view in the present expedition, besides the general design of discovering unknown lands. The year 1769 was rendered remarkable by the transit of the planet Venus over the disk of the sun; a phæ-

nomenon of the greatest importance to the sciences of astronomy, geography, and navigation; and which every where engaged the attention of the learned in those branches of knowledge. In the beginning of the year 1768 the Royal Society presented a memorial to his Majesty, setting forth the advantages to be derived from accurate observations of this transit in different parts of the world; particularly from a set of such observations made in a southern latitude, between the 140th and 180th degrees of longitude, west from the Royal Observatory at Greenwich; but that the society were in no condition to defray the expence necessary for equipping vessels to convey the observers to their destined stations. In consequence of this memorial the Admiralty were directed by his Majesty to provide proper vessels for the purpose. Accordingly, the Endeavour bark, which had been built for the coal trade, was purchased and fitted out for the southern voyage, and the command of her intrusted to Lieutenant (afterwards the celebrated Captain) Cook, himself a distinguished member of the Royal Society, and appointed by his associates, in conjunction with Mr. Charles Green the astronomer, to make the requisite observations on the transit.

Captain Cook sailed from Deptford the 30th of July, 1768, with instructions to proceed directly to Otaheite; and, after the astronomical observations should be completed, to prosecute the design of making discoveries in the Pacific Ocean, by proceeding southward to the latitude of 40 degrees, and if he did not find land to continue his voyage to the west, between the latitudes of 40 degrees and 35 degrees south, till he fell in with New Zealand, which he was directed to explore; and thence to return to England by such route as he should judge most convenient.

In executing these instructions, Mr. Cook endeavoured to make a direct course to Otaheite, and in part succeeded; but when he came within the tropic

he fell in with several islands, which had not been before discovered. He remained three months at Otaheite, and then visited many neighbouring islands, till then unknown. On the 6th of October, 1769, he fell in with the east side of New Zealand, and continued exploring the coast of this country till the 31st of March, 1770. He then proceeded to New Holland, and surveyed its eastern coasts, which had not been before visited; and passing between its northern extremity and New Guinea, afterwards touched at the Island of Savu, Batavia, the Cape of Good Hope, and St. Helena, and arrived in England on the 12th of July, 1771.

Besides the astronomical purposes which were answered by this voyage, and the important discoveries of new lands, made in the course of the longest navigation hitherto undertaken, the expedition of Captain Cook was distinguished by another circumstance particularly interesting to the lovers of philosophy. The expedition was adorned by the presence of Mr. Banks, a man of letters as well as of fortune, who was accompanied by Dr. Solander, an accomplished disciple of Linnæus. Both these gentlemen were remarkable for an extensive and accurate knowledge of natural history, and being otherwise men of liberal education and principles, they were led to make various observations, not only on the natural curiosities and productions, but on the manners, policy, religion, and language of the several countries which they visited. Seldom have men of such talents possessed that spirit of daring enterprise which prompts to the discovery and examination of unknown lands. Seldom have distant countries been visited and described by philosophers; for avarice and ambition, and not the thirst of knowledge, have generally excited, to such undertakings, men of a bold and hardy but of a narrow and illiberal spirit. The ingenious observations made during the course of the present

voyage tend to fill up the picture of which former navigators had only sketched the outlines.

The reception which Captain Cook and his companions met with from the Portuguese at Rio de Janeiro, where he put in the 13th of November, in order to purchase provisions and necessaries, was most unworthy of the design in which they were engaged. That ignorant and superstitious people could form no idea of the object of their voyage. The purpose of making philosophical discoveries they treated with the utmost contempt, and watched the persons of the English travellers with all the jealous severity of fear and ignorance. Mr. Cook continued his voyage to the Straits of Le Maire, which separate Staten Island from Terra del Fuego. He arrived at the entrance of the Straits the 14th of January, which is near the middle of summer in those parts. As the weather was calm, Mr. Banks was desirous of examining the coast of the main land, and ascending a mountain which appeared at a little distance, in search of plants. This was effected; but so excessive is the cold in the southern hemisphere, that, at a degree of latitude which in the summer months is temperate in Europe, all those who undertook this expedition were in danger of being frozen to death; and several of Mr. Banks's attendants actually perished.

In this miserable climate the inhabitants appeared to be the most destitute and forlorn of all human beings. They have no dwelling but a wretched hovel of sticks and grass, which not only admits the wind, but the snow and the rain. They are destitute of every convenience that is furnished by the rudest art, having no implement even to dress their food. They have no other clothing than the skin of the guanicoe or seal, which is thrown over their shoulders, drawn over their feet, and worn round the waists of the women as a succedaneum for a fig-leaf. Shell-fish

seems to be their only food, which, being in no great plenty in any particular place, obliges them to wander perpetually in small hordes over those dreary and inhospitable regions, which appear so ill fitted to be the habitations of men. Yet these savage tribes are, perhaps, only miserable in the imagination of those who survey them, and who, placing themselves in their situation, conceive what exquisite sufferings they would feel if reduced to the same manner of life. The wandering inhabitants of Terra del Fuego are contented with their lot. Though deprived of whatever is comfortable, they are studious to adorn their persons. Their faces are painted in various forms; the region of the eye is generally white, and the rest of the face diversified with streaks of red and black.

The captain fell in with the Island of Terra del Fuego about twenty leagues to the westward of the Strait of Le Maire. The strait itself is about five leagues long and as many broad; and has a bay in the middle of it, which affords good anchorage, as well as excellent wood and water. The doubling of Cape Horn has been so much dreaded, that, in the general opinion, it is more eligible to pass through the Straits of Magellan; but Captain Cook's experience seems to prove the contrary; for he was no more than thirty-three days in coming round the land of Terra del Fuego, from the east entrance of the Strait of Le Maire; whereas Captain Wallis employed above three months in getting through the Straits of Magellan in the same season of the year.

Captain Cook, continuing his voyage in a north-westerly direction, observed the latitude, on the 24th of March, 1769, to be 22 degrees 11 minutes south, and longitude 127 degrees 55 minutes west. Some of the people, who were upon the watch in the night, reported that they saw a log of wood pass by the ship, and that the sea, which was rather rough, became suddenly as smooth as a mill-pool. How-

ever, they fell in with no land till the 4th of April, when an island of an oval form appeared at the distance of a few leagues. They approached it on the north side within a mile, but found no bottom with one hundred and thirty fathom of line. The whole is covered with trees, especially palms and cocoa-nut trees; among the groves of which the natives were seen walking in great numbers. The captain named this Lagoon Island. It is situated in latitude 18 degrees 47 minutes south, and longitude 139 degrees 29 minutes west. In pursuing his voyage westward he fell in with several other inconsiderable islands at no great distance from the former. These were Thrumb-Cap, The Groups, Bird Island, and Maitea, to which Captain Wallis had given the name of Osnaburgh.

On the 11th of April land was seen a-head, which was known by its situation to be Otaheite, the same which is described in the voyage of Captain Wallis, to which he gave the name of King George the Third's Island. When the ship came near to the shore, it was immediately surrounded by the natives in their canoes, who offered cocoa-nuts, fruit resembling apples, bread-fruit, and some small fishes, in exchange for beads and other trifles. Soon after arrived other canoes, in which were some of those Indians who had maintained a good deal of intercourse with the crew of Captain Wallis's ship, and who were immediately known to Mr. Gore, the second lieutenant, who had gone round the world with that captain. One of these ancient acquaintance came on board, and as soon as the ship was properly secured, went on shore with the captain and the other gentlemen. They were all received with many marks of friendship by the hospitable Indians, and a treaty was ratified between them by exchanging the green branches of a tree, which were the symbol of peace among many ancient and powerful nations. The ship continued on the coast of Otaheite three

months, trading with the natives, and examining the island. The ordinary rate of traffic was a spike nail for a small pig, and a smaller nail for a fowl; a hatchet for a hog; and twenty cocoa-nuts, or bread-fruit, for a middle-sized nail. Looking-glasses, knives, and beads are excellent articles of commerce and for these every thing may be obtained which the natives can bestow. During the whole time that the English continued here, they lived in the most friendly intercourse with the Indians; and considered the island not as before in a cursory manner, but with a critical attention.

Though Otaheite lies within the tropic of Capricorn, it is one of the most healthy, and delightful spots in the world. The heat is not troublesome, and the air is so pure that fresh meat will keep very well for two days, and fish one day. The winds generally blow from the divisions between east and south; the tide rises but little, and being governed by the winds is extremely uncertain. The coast is of a bold elevation, rises like an amphitheatre, and the mountains every where covered with wood, present to the view the most captivating prospect. The stones all over this island appear to have been burnt; and there are other marks of violent concussions and subterraneous fires, by which the face of nature has been altered in this and the neighbouring isles. The exterior ranges of hills are sometimes barren, and contain a great quantity of yellowish clay, mixed with iron ore; but this excepted, there are no other indications of metals, or valuable minerals of any kind.

The soil of Otaheite is a rich black mold, producing spontaneously a great variety of the most excellent fruits, sugar canes, which the inhabitants eat raw; ginger, turmeric, and a great number of other excellent roots, which are unknown in other climates. The trees are the greatest curiosity of Otaheite. The Chinese paper-mulberry tree is that of which the

natives make their cloth. The trunk of the bread-fruit tree, which furnishes nourishment to the whole island, is six feet in the girt, and about twenty feet to the branches. There is a species of the fig, the branches of which bending down, take fresh root in the earth, and thus form a congeries of trunks, united by a common vegetation, which have the appearance of one stock of astonishing magnitude. Another tree, covered with a dark green foliage, bears golden apples, which resemble the anana or pine-apple in juiciness and flavour. The most beautiful tree in the world received the name of *Barringtonia*, the natives call it *huddoo;* it had a great abundance of flowers, larger than lilies, and perfectly white, excepting the tips of their numerous chives, which were of a bright crimson. The fruit, which is a large nut has the property of various plants of tropical climates, of intoxicating fish, so that they come to the surface of the water, and suffer themselves to be taken by hand. There is a great variety of excellent fish, which, as they form the principal object of luxury, the catching of them is the main occupation of the natives. There are no venomous reptiles or troublesome insects, but ants and mosquitos. Besides poultry exactly like those of Europe, there are wild ducks; beautiful green turtle doves; large pigeons of a deep blue plumage; parroquets valued for their red falkers, and often seen tame in the houses of the natives. There are no quadrupeds in the island, but hogs, dogs, and rats; all which are extremely numerous.

The persons of the inhabitants being examined with particular attention, there was no occasion to alter the idea which Captain Wallis had given of them. Captain Cook rather seems to heighten the panegyric; and M. Bouganville affirms, that were a painter to delineate an Hercules or a Mars, it would be impossible to discover more advantageous models. The women of the lower ranks are of a smaller stature

than the rest, which is attributed to their early and promiscuous intercourse with men; for the better sort, who do not gratify their passions in the same unbridled manner, are above the middle stature of the Europeans. The men of consequence in the island wear the nails of their fingers long, which they consider as a very honourable distinction, since only such people as have no occasion to work can suffer them to grow to that length. The women always cut their hair short round their heads. Both men and women have the hinder part of their thighs and loins marked with black lines in various directions, by striking the teeth of an instrument somewhat like a comb through the skin, and rubbing into the punctures a kind of paste made of soot and oil, which leaves an indelible stain. This custom, which is called tattowing, is common to all persons beyond the age of twelve years; and the legs of people of superior rank and authority are chequered with the same decorations. Both sexes are not only decently but gracefully clothed with the stuff above-mentioned. The dress of the better sort of women consists of several pieces; one is wrapped round the waist, so as to hang down in the form of a petticoat, and being of a thin pliable texture, displays an elegant figure to the greatest advantage. "The women of Otaheite," says Monsieur De Bougainville, "have features as agreeable as those of the Europeans; and are unrivalled in the symmetry and beautiful proportion of their limbs. The men who live much on the water are of a redder complexion than those who chiefly reside on shore. Some have their hair brown, red, or flaxen, in which they are exceptions to all the natives of Asia, Africa, and America, who have their hair universally black."

Their houses are nothing more than a roof, scarcely four feet from the ground, raised on three rows of pillars, one row on each side, and one in the middle. The covering consists of palm-leaves, the pillars of

wood, and the floor is strewed with hay or covered with mats. These simple habitations contain no other furniture except a few blocks of wood, which serve them as pillows, and their ordinary apparel is made use of instead of blankets and sheets. The size of the house is proportioned to the number which constitutes the family, and is seldom occupied except during the hours of repose. In these dormitories it is the established rule for the master and mistress to sleep in the middle, round them the married people, in the next circle the unmarried women, and the servants at the extremity of the shed, or, in fair weather, in the open air.

They are quite unacquainted with the method of boiling water, as they have no vessels among them that will bear the heat of the fire. Their meat is always broiled or roasted. They use shells for carving, but eat with their fingers. Some attempted the use of the knife and fork, in imitation of the English, but we are told by Mr. Hawkesworth, that they could not guide these implements; by the mere force of habit, the hand came always to the mouth, while the food at the end of the fork went to the ear. Their general drink is water, or the milk of the cocoa-nut. They have a plant called *ava ava*, of an intoxicating quality, which the men make use of sparingly; the women never; and they testified aversion to the strong liquors which were offered them. They eat alone, or at least only in company with a guest that happens to come in; and the men and women never sit down together to a meal. Persons of rank are constantly fed by their inferiors, frequently their women, and this custom is so strongly confirmed, that a chief who dined on board the Endeavour would have returned without his meat, if one of the servants had not fed him. The origin of these singular customs has not been explained. The idea of cleanliness, to which these people are so strongly attached, that they perform their ablutions

several times every day, may perhaps account for the great men's requiring to be fed. But that a people remarkably fond of society, and particularly that of their women, should exclude its pleasures from the table, where, among all other nations, whether civil or savage, they have been principally enjoyed, is truly inexplicable. Captain Cook imagined this strange singularity among the inhabitants of Otaheite must have arisen from some superstitious opinion; but they constantly affirmed the contrary. They ate alone, they said, because it was right; but why it was right to eat alone they never attempted to explain.

These islanders, who lie on the ground, and inhabit huts exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, are remarkably healthy and vigorous, and generally attain to old age, without feeling the inconveniences of this melancholy period of life. M. De Bougainville describes an old man, whom they saw on their landing, who had no other character of old age, than that remarkable one which is imprinted on a fine figure. His head was adorned with white hair, and a long white beard; all his body was nervous and fleshy; he had neither wrinkles, nor showed any other token of decrepitude. This venerable man seemed displeased at the arrival of these strangers, retired without making any return to the courtesies which they paid him, and instead of taking part in the raptures which the multitude expressed, his thoughtful and suspicious air seemed to indicate a fear, that the society of a new race of men might disturb the uninterrupted happiness which he had so long enjoyed. They are utterly destitute of medical knowledge which they hold in contempt; but they are good proficients in surgery, the operations of which they often experience to be useful. One of the English seamen, when on shore, ran a large splinter into his foot, which his companion, after giving him exquisite pain, vainly attempted to extract with his pen-knife. An old Indian, who hap-

pened to be present, called a man from the other side, of the river, who, having examined the lacerated foot, fetched a shell from the beach, which he broke to a point with his teeth; with which instrument he laid open the wound, and extracted the splinter: whilst this operation was performing, the old man went a little way into the wood, and returned with some gum, which he applied to the wound, upon a piece of the cloth that was wrapped round him, and in two days time it was perfectly healed. This gum was produced by the apple tree; the surgeon of the ship procured some of it, and used it as a vulnerary balsam with great success.

The language of the inhabitants of Otaheite is soft and melodious, abounding with vowels, which renders its pronunciation easily acquired. It is almost totally without inflexion either of nouns or verbs; but a sufficient acquaintance with it has not been attained to determine whether it is copious or otherwise. It was impossible to teach the Indians to pronounce the English names of their guests, but they did not fail to come as near to it as possible, the giving of the name being an indispensable ceremony, which they never omitted when they introduced a new acquaintance. They converted the English names into words resembling Spanish or Italian; Cook they called Toote; Hicks, Hete; Mr. Gore, Toarro; Dr. Solander, Torano; Parkinson, Patini; Mr. Monkhouse, a midshipman, they called Matte, which signifies in their language dead, because he commanded a party that killed a man for stealing a musket. The nearest imitation they could reach of King George, was by calling him Kihiargo. They are not destitute of genius for the sciences, though they have no opportunity of cultivating them. A map of Otaheïte, engraved for Captain Cook's first voyage, was taken out and laid before Tuahow the high-admiral, without informing him any thing of what it was. He presently discovered its meaning, and was overjoyed

to see a representation of his own country. These people have a remarkable sagacity in foretelling the weather, particularly the quarter from whence the wind will blow. In their long voyages they steer by the sun in the day, and in the night by the stars; all of which they distinguish separately by names; and know in what part of the heavens they will appear in any of the months, during which they are visible in their horizon; nor are they less acquainted with the periods of their annual appearance. They reckon time by moons, thirteen of which compose the year. They divide the day and the night, each into six parts. They judge of the time of the day by the height of the sun. It is said, that the highest number for which they have names is two hundred. They express the distance from one place to another by the time it would take to run over it. They entertain no notion of the baneful influence of comets, but they consider those meteors which are called shooting stars, as evil genii.

The government of the inhabitants of Otaheite is compared by Dr. Hawkesworth to the early state of every nation in Europe under the feudal system. There is a king or sovereign in each of the two peninsulas into which the island is divided; with the lands of the different districts, whose possessions are cultivated by their vassals and villeins. The king possesses far less authority over the whole society, than each chieftain possesses in his own district, and the nobles are nearer on a footing with their sovereign than the lower ranks are with the nobles. Intermarriages are not permitted between the nobles and the vulgar; every advantage and honour is confined to the former; and even such articles of food as are reckoned delicacies, pork, fish and fowl, are only to be used by the nobility. Of these there are different orders, as in all the feudal kingdoms. There are different liveries, so to speak, to distinguish these orders; and the rank of every individual is ascertained

by the height at which their servants wear their sashes. Like the ancient nobility of Europe, they enjoy the right of private war; and each nobleman at the head of his vassals, repels injuries, and maintains his rights, by the decision of arms. Their influence, indeed, over their followers is most powerful. They have intelligence of every event; they receive notice of every crime that is committed; they bestow reward, inflict punishment, and their decisions are submitted to with the most passive and unreserved obedience. Otaheite, therefore, affords in miniature, the picture of two feudal kingdoms, for the whole inhabitants, including women and children, do not exceed six thousand. One circumstance alone, as it is related by Dr. Hawkesworth, is peculiar to this people. The child of the prince, or of the baron, succeeds to the titles and honours of his father as soon as it is born; so that a baron who was yesterday distinguished by epithets of honour, and approached with the ceremony of lowering the garments and uncovering the upper part of the body, is to-day, if his wife be delivered of a son, reduced to the rank of a private person; all marks of respect being transferred to the child, though the father still continues to possess and administer the estate. If this circumstance be authentic, it furnishes a remarkable distinction between the government of Otaheite and that of the feudal nations of Europe. In these, force generally prevailed over right. The weakness of age and sex often excluded from the succession those who were naturally intitled to it. The estate of a child or of a woman was often acquired by a distant collateral relation; even the destination of royalty proceeded not in a regular line, the uncle often usurping the rights of a son, the brother those of a daughter.

The religion of these islanders is not the circumstance which first attracts the attention of travellers. Captain Wallis, who first visited and described them, is inclined to believe, that they had not any religious

worship or belief. But subsequent accounts inform us of their religious tenets, which are as superstitious and absurd as those of other pagan nations. They admit that great and primitive truth, that all is derived originally from one First Cause. But they suppose the Supreme Being to have impregnated a rock, which brought forth the year; which daughter, embraced by the father, produced the thirteen months; which, in conjunction with each other, produced the days. In the same manner were the stars and all the other objects of nature created, so that the idea of generation runs through the whole, an idea impressed with peculiar force on the imagination of these Indians, who of all men are particularly the most addicted to the sexual pleasures. They believe the existence of the soul after death, and of a greater or less degree of happiness to be then enjoyed; but they are said to have no conception of a state of punishment or reward hereafter. The share of happiness in a future life, they imagine, will be proportioned not to the merit but to the rank of individuals; the nobles enjoying the first distinction of felicity, while their vassals and villeins must be satisfied, even in the region of spirits, with a subordinate lot. This religious tenet is evidently derived from their political usages. The priesthood, as in many ancient countries, is hereditary. The priests are professedly the men of science, but their knowledge is altogether frivolous, consisting in being conversant in the names and rank of the subordinate divinities, and the opinions concerning the origin of the universe, handed down from one generation to another, by real tradition, in detached sentences, and in a phraseology unintelligible to those who do not belong to the sacred families.

The general manners and character of the people are such as naturally result from the limited state of society in which they live, and the faint gradations of improvement to which they have attained. Their

passions, like those of children, are violent, but transitory. They pass suddenly, yet without any apparent cause, from an excess of grief to the transports of joy. Their propensity to particular friendships, like that of all rude people, is strong; and their fidelity inviolable. When the English visited them for the second time, every Indian chose his friend. With a disposition naturally generous, they discovered a singular propensity to theft. Of this there are innumerable examples in all the accounts which are related of them. But perhaps it has not been sufficiently attended to, that their inclination to this vice might depend less on the depravity of their moral principles, than on their limited notions of property. Even after they had experienced the power of their new visitants, they continued to pilfer as assiduously as before; and persons who, in other respects, displayed no small elevation of character, had a particular predilection for riches acquired by stealth.

Another trait of their character, which had been in some measure mistaken by the first travellers into their country is, the licentiousness of their amours. M. De Bougainville and Dr. Hawkesworth assert, that there were no women in the island who had the smallest pretensions to chastity. This assertion, however, Captain Cook discovered to be too general. The women of rank, that is, all the female noblesse, are not devoid of honour; although they do not imagine their inferiors ought to be condemned for yielding to promiscuous love. But, notwithstanding the exception which the captain has discovered, it must be acknowledged, that their manners in this particular are such as could scarcely escape observation and censure. When the Dolphin first appeared on the coast, a great number of women appeared on the beach, and were very importunate with the men in the boat to come on shore. They stripped themselves naked, and endeavoured to allure them by many wanton gestures; and when they found, that not-

withstanding all their endeavours to detain them, the boat was putting off, they pelted them with apples and bananas, shouting and showing every possible sign of derision and contempt. After this, canoes, with a number of women, came close by the side of the ship, where the same wanton gestures were repeated. A regular traffic being established on shore, it was settled that a river should separate the natives and the strangers, and a few only of the former should cross at a time, for the purpose of trading. Several young women were then permitted to cross the river, who, though they were not averse from granting of personal favours, were tenacious of making the most of them. An iron nail was commonly the price of beauty; and in proportion to the charms of the damsel was the size of the nail which she received. The men scrupled not to promote this kind of dealing, for fathers and brothers would bring their daughters and sisters, for the purpose of prostitution to the sailors. When they presented the girl, they showed a stick of the size of the nail which was demanded for her, and he who came up to the price was intitled to the merchandise.

From the unbridled licentiousness of the inhabitants of this island, the French gave it the name of the new Cythera. When M. De Bougainville arrived on this shore, he was received with the same lascivious compliments which had been lavished on the English. "It was very difficult," says that officer, "with such seducing incitements, to keep at their work five hundred young French sailors, who had been deprived of the sight of women for six months." Notwithstanding the endeavours used to keep the crew in order, the captain's cook found means to escape on shore. He had no sooner singled out a fair one, than he was immediately encircled with a large party of natives, who stripped him of his clothes from head to foot, and with great tumult and violent exclamations, examined every part of his body very minutely. When

their curiosity had been fully gratified, they restored his clothes, and handing the girl to him, signified by signs sufficiently expressive, that she was very much at his service. But by this time, the ardour of the Frenchman had subsided, and every tumultuous passion was absorbed in that of fear. He entreated them as the only favour they could bestow, to convey him on board, and he reached the ship more dead than alive.

When Captain Cook lay off this shore, the women of Otaheite had so totally divested themselves of all apprehensions of ill-treatment from the English sailors, that great numbers of the lower class remained on board the ship, after the numerous tribe of visitants had returned on shore in the evening. They ventured, without scruple, to pass the night on board, having studied the disposition of British seamen so well as to know that they ran no risk by confiding in them, but, on the contrary, might make sure of every bead, nail, and hatchet, that their lovers could muster. The evening, therefore, was as completely dedicated to mirth and pleasure, as if the ship had been at Spithead instead of Otaheite. Before it was perfectly dark, the women assembled on the forecastle, and one of them blowing a flute with her nostrils, all of them danced a variety of dances, usual in their country, most of which were little consistent with European ideas of delicacy. Even the better sort are not entirely exempted from the national weakness. A chief named O-tai came on board accompanied by his wife and two sisters: one of whom named Morarai, was a most graceful figure, with the most delicate and beautiful contours of the hands and all above the zone; an ineffable smile sat on her countenance; her admiration at seeing the new objects aboard the ship displayed itself in the liveliest expressions; nor was she satisfied with looking round the decks, but descended into the officers' cabins, attended by a gentleman of the ship. Hav-

ing curiously examined every part, Morarai took a particular fancy to a pair of sheets which she saw spread on one of the beds, and made a number of fruitless attempts to obtain them from her conductor, to whom they belonged. He proposed a special favour as the condition. She hesitated some time, and at last, with seeming reluctance, consented. But when the yielding nymph was about to surrender, the ship struck violently on the reef, and the affrighted lover, more sensible to danger, than to his fair mistress, quitted her unrifled charms, and flew upon deck. Repeated shrieks made the condition of the ship more alarming; every person on deck exerted himself to the utmost on this emergency: at length they brought her again to float. When the danger was over, the officer bethought himself of his abandoned fair one; but on visiting his cabin he found her gone, and his bed stripped of its sheets. Morarai however, had conducted the theft with such dexterity, as would have rendered it not only excusable, but praise-worthy among the Spartans; having appeared on deck, and continued a considerable time, without exciting any mistrust of her acquisition. Four days after this adventure, the same officer, accompanied by several others, strolling about the country, came to the spot where O-tai, and his fair sister resided. He thought it to no purpose to enquire after his lost bed-linen, but chose rather to renew his solicitations to the lady. Beads, nails, and various trifles were presented to her, which she readily accepted, but remained inflexible to the passionate addresses of her lover. She was already in possession of the sheets, which were the only wealth of sufficient value in her eyes, to induce her to admit the transient embraces of a stranger, though she was accused by her countrywomen of admitting towtaws, or men of the lowest rank, to her bed at night; and thus imposing on her brother, who would have been highly offended at

the prostitution, not of her person, but of her dignity.

Though it be evident, that the general character of the natives of Otaheite is extremely deficient in point of modesty, yet many of their customs, perhaps, are more immodest in appearance, than in reality. The usual way of expressing their respect to strangers, is by uncovering themselves to the middle: and a ceremony of a similar kind, but expressive only of respect, was used by Oorattao, a woman of rank, who visited Mr. Banks. After laying down several plaintain leaves, a man brought a large bundle of cloth, of the manufacture of that country, which having opened, he spread it piece by piece upon the ground, in the space between Mr. Banks and his visitants. There were in all nine pieces, but having spread three pieces one upon another, the lady came forward, and stepping upon them, took up her garments all round to the waist; she then turned about with great composure and deliberation, and with an air of perfect innocence and simplicity, which having done, she dropped the veil; when other three pieces were spread, she repeated the same ceremony: and so the third time, when the last three pieces were laid out; after which the cloth was again rolled up, and delivered to Mr. Banks, as a present from the lady, who, with her attending friend, came up, saluted him, and received such presents in return, as he thought proper to offer them. Examples of this kind, would lead us to believe, that the indecency of the natives of Otaheite, like that of most nations, who have made small advancements in the arts of social life, proceeds less from a natural propensity to voluptuous excess, than from their imperfect notions of propriety. As what has appeared in them a strong inclination to the vice of stealing, arises, probably, in some degree, from their limited ideas of property, so the apparent licentiousness of their manners, with regard to the fair sex, may proceed from a want of those cultivated notions

of delicacy, which prevail in polished countries. They see nothing indecent in the unreserved intercourse of the sexes; among them Venus is the goddess of hospitality; her worship is celebrated without mystery; and every passion is gratified before witnesses, without any more signs of shame, than appears in other countries, when people associate at a meal. Yet it must not be dissembled, that some of their customs discover a certain refinement in sensual pleasure, which is the characteristic of a degree of depravity, that could hardly be expected in their simple state.

We return from this digression, in which we have endeavoured to reduce into a small compass, the various accounts of Wallis, Cook, Foster, and Bougainville, concerning the manners and characters of a people, whose discovery is one of the most brilliant that has been made by modern navigation. The island, indeed, is more interesting to the philosopher than to the merchant, as it produces nothing that can be converted into an article of distant traffic, and can be useful only in affording refreshments to shipping, in their voyages through those seas. Captain Cook took his leave of Otaheite the 13th of July, 1769, having carried with him Tupia, one of the natives, who informed him, that four of the neighbouring islands, lay at the distance of less than two days sail. The names of these were, Ulietea, Huaheine, Otaha, and Bolabola. The first is about twenty-one leagues in circuit. Its productions are the same as those of Otaheite, nor is there any thing to distinguish the appearance and manners of its inhabitants from those of that island. The same may be said of the other three, as well as of the small islands of Tubai and Maurua; to all of which, as they lie contiguous to each other, Captain Cook gave the name of the Society Islands, but did not think it necessary to distinguish them separately by any other names, than those by which they are known to the natives. They are situated between the latitudes of 16 degrees 10 mi-

nutes, and 10 degrees 55 minutes south, and between the longitudes of 150 degrees 17 minutes, and 152 degrees west, from the meridian of Greenwich. Ulietea and Otaha lie at the distance of two miles from each other, and are both enclosed within one reef of coral rocks, so that there is no passage for shipping between them. Ulietea affords a great many good harbours both on the east and west side; the entrances into them, indeed, are but narrow; but when a ship is once in, nothing can hurt her. The northernmost, on the west side, in which the ship lay, is called Ohamaneno; the channel leading into it, is about a quarter of a mile wide, and lies between two low sandy islands. This harbour, though small, is preferable to the others, because it is situated in the most fertile part of the island, and where fresh water is easily to be got. Otaha also affords two good harbours, one on the east side, and the other on the west. The island of Bolabola lies north-west and by west from Otaha, distant about four leagues. It is surrounded by a reef of rocks, and several small islands, in compass together about eight leagues. This island is rendered remarkable by a high craggy hill, which appears to be almost perpendicular, and terminates at the top in two peaks, one higher than the other. The captain did not take time to examine the harbours, but understood that Bolabola is not deficient in this particular. The island of Huaheine is situated in the latitude of 16 degrees 43 minutes south, and longitude 150 degrees 52 minutes west, distant from Otaheite about thirty-one leagues, and about seven leagues in compass. The harbour, which is called by the natives Owalle, lies on the west side, under the northernmost high land. The climate is more forward than that of Otaheite, and the country abounds with provisions. The inhabitants of all these islands treated the English with the most courteous hospitality; and testified great sorrow at the departure of their guests, which, however, did not take place till Captain Cook had, with

the usual formality, taken possession of their territories in the name of his Majesty King George.

The captain left these shores the 9th of August, 1769, and met with nothing remarkable in his course till the 13th, about noon, when he saw land bearing south-east, which Tupia told him, was an island called Oheteroa. It is situated in the latitude of 22 degrees 27 minutes south, and in the longitude of 150 degrees 47 minutes west, about thirteen miles in circuit, and the land rather high than low, but neither populous nor fertile in proportion to the other islands which had been discovered in those seas. The chief produce seems to be a tree of which they make their weapons, called in their language Etoa; many plantations of it were seen along the shore, which is not surrounded, like the neighbouring islands, by a reef. The ship, or boats, made the whole circuit of Oheteroa, and found there was neither harbour nor anchorage about it; and the hostile disposition of the natives rendering it impossible to land without bloodshed, the captain determined not to attempt it, having no motive that could justify the risk of life.

Tupia mentioned several islands lying at different distances, and in different directions from this, between the south and the north-west; and that, at the distance of three days sail, there was an island called Mancoa, or Bird Island. But so many discoveries of this kind had already been made, that the captain purposed to spend no more time in search of islands, only in examining those which he happened to fall in with during his course, and to proceed southward in search of a continent. After a navigation of above six weeks, land was discovered, which became the subject of much eager conversation, it being generally believed to be the *Terra Australis Incognita*. It was indeed the coast of New Zealand, which, ever since it had been discovered by the Dutch navigator Tasman, in 1642, has passed with most geographers for a part of the great southern continent. But Cap-

tain Cook discovered that New Zealand consisted of two islands, divided by a strait which is called after his name, and situated between the latitudes of 34 degrees 22 minutes and 47 degrees 25 minutes south, and between the longitudes of 166 degrees and 180 degrees east. This indefatigable navigator employed almost six months in fully exploring the coasts of both islands, of which he distinguished the several bays, rivers, capes, &c. by particular names. The first place where he anchored, on the northernmost island, he called Poverty Bay, because he found in it no refreshments, nor any thing, except wood, necessary for a ship. From hence he proceeded southward, almost to the forty-first degree of latitude; and then reversing his course, sailed to the north-eastern point of land, and the broadest part of the whole island. He afterwards anchored in a port, situated in latitude 56 degrees 54 minutes south, and in longitude 184 degrees 4 minutes west, which, as he here made an observation of the transit of Mercury over the sun, he called Mercury Bay. The river which empties itself into the head of this bay, he called the Thames, on account of its resemblance to the English river of that name. The banks of this river are represented as the most eligible place in those islands for settling a colony. More to the north-west is the Bay of Islands, so named from the great number of little islands that line its shores, forming several harbours equally safe and commodious, where there is depth and room for any number of shipping. Captain Cook, in doubling the northern extremity of New Zealand, met with a gale of wind, which, for its strength and continuance, was such as he had never experienced before. He was three weeks in making ten leagues, and five weeks in making fifty. Having doubled this cape, he proceeded along the western shore, which is extremely barren, consisting of banks of white sand, and which he therefore called the Desert Coast. The southern part of this coast bends

towards the west, and is distinguished by a remarkably high peak of a most majestic appearance, covered with perennial snow. This peak, which received the name of Mount Egmont, is surrounded by a flat country of a pleasant appearance, clothed with wood and verdure. Having coasted this shore, the captain entered the strait which divides the northern from the southern island. The latter underwent a very accurate survey. On the eastern coast he discovered a small island of a circular form, in the latitude of 43 degrees 44 minutes south, which he called Banks's Island. Proceeding southward, he found the extremity of the land almost separated from the rest, it being joined by a long and narrow isthmus. The south-east side is of very dangerous navigation, on account of the ridges of rocks which rise for many leagues out of the sea. But the western extremity affords a commodious bay, with many harbours and coves scattered on different parts of it, where good anchorage may be found. On the shore, the soil is a deep black mold, formed of decayed vegetables. The trees gradually diminish in height and circumference, in receding from the shore, contrary to what is observed in other parts of the world. The captain having left the above-mentioned bay, which he called Dusky Bay, proceeded along the western coast, and entered Cook's Straits by the south-west point of land, behind which he anchored in a fine harbour, which he named Admiralty Bay. A little more to the eastward is Queen Charlotte's Sound, the entrance of which lies in latitude 41 degrees south, longitude 175 degrees 25 minutes east. This sound is three leagues broad at its mouth, and contains a collection of the finest harbours in the world. There are a great number of small islands lying at the entrance, and the land about it is so high, as to be seen at the distance of twenty leagues. Here the sailors caught nearly three hundred weight of fish, and found wood and water in abundance. The captain ordered

the water-casks to be filled in this neighbourhood, and prepared to leave New Zealand on the 30th of March, having circumnavigated the whole coast, and made frequent excursions into the interior parts of the country.

These islands produce no quadrupeds but dogs and rats; there are few species of birds, and of those none, except perhaps the gannet, the same with those of Europe. For this scarcity of animals upon the land, the sea makes an abundant recompence; every creek swarming with fish, equally wholesome and delicious. The ship seldom anchored in any station, or with a light gale passed any place, which did not afford enough of fish with hook and line to serve the whole ship's company; the seine or net seldom failed of producing a still more ample supply; and the variety of species was equal to the plenty. There are mackarel of many kinds, one of which is exactly the same as what we have in England; and the other species of fish, unknown to the European seas, were distinguished by the names of those kinds to which they bear the nearest resemblance, and they do honour to the comparison. Among the vegetable productions of New Zealand, the trees claim a principal place; there being forests of vast extent, full of the straightest, the cleanest, and the largest timber, any where to be seen. The trees here, however, are too hard and too heavy to be made into masts; but for every other purpose they seem to be exceedingly fit, on account of their size, their grain, and their apparent durability. There are few eatable vegetables in New Zealand, except wild celery, and a kind of cresses, which grow in great abundance, upon all parts of the sea-shore. Of the esculent plants raised by cultivation, there are only yams, sweet potatoes, and cocoas. Gourds are cultivated by the natives, for the sake of the fruit, which furnishes them with vessels for various uses. There is a plant that serves the inhabitants instead of hemp and flax, which excels

all that are put to the same purposes in other countries. Of this plant there are two sorts; the leaves of both resemble those of flags, but their flowers are smaller, and their clusters more numerous; on one kind they are yellow, on the other a deep red. Of the leaves of these plants, with very little preparation, they make all their common apparel, as well as their strings, lines, and cordage, for every purpose, which are so much stronger than any thing we can make with hemp, that they will not bear a comparison. Of the leaves of this plant, without any other preparation than that of splitting them into proper breadths, and tying the stripes together, they make their fishing nets, some of which are of an enormous size.

From the populousness of the sea-coasts, it was at first imagined, that the natives of New Zealand were extremely numerous. But it was afterwards found, that the interior parts were entirely destitute of inhabitants, or very thinly peopled; for the principal food of the New Zealanders consisting in fish, they are afraid to remove to a great distance from the chief source of their subsistence. The flesh of dogs, and the few vegetables above-mentioned, are the only succedaneum they have to support life; so that when the dry stock fails in the season when few fish are caught, the distress is dreadful; and this calamity, which too often happens, accounts for a practice prevalent in New Zealand, of fortifying every village with the utmost care, and the horrid custom of eating those who are killed in battle. The New Zealanders rather exceed the European size; are stout, well limbed, and fleshy; exceedingly active and vigorous; and discover great manual dexterity in all the arts to which they apply. Their colour resembles the brown hue of the Spaniards; the women have not a feminine delicacy in their appearance, but their voice is remarkably soft; and by this they are principally distinguished, the dress of both sexes being the same. This dress is, to a stranger, the most

uncouth that can be imagined. It is made of the leaves of the hemp plant, split into three or four slips, interwoven with each other into a kind of stuff between netting and cloth, with all the ends, which are eight or nine inches long, hanging out on the upper side. Of this singular cloth, two pieces serve for a complete dress; one of them is tied over their shoulders with a string, and reaches as low as the knees; to the end of this string is fastened a bodkin of bone, which is easily fastened through any two parts of this upper garment, to keep them together. The other piece of cloth, or lower garment, is wrapped round the waist, and reaches nearly to the ground. When they have only the upper garment on, for the lower is not so constantly worn, and sit upon their hams, they bear a resemblance to a thatched house; but however ugly their dress, it is a proper defence against the inclemencies of the weather, to men who often sleep in the open air.

These people being inured to war, and accustomed to consider every stranger as an enemy, were always disposed to attack the English, until they were intimidated by their manifest superiority. But when they were convinced of the power of fire-arms, and observed the clemency of their enemies in forbearing to make use of these dreadful weapons, except in their own defence, they became at once friendly and affectionate; and when an intercourse was established, were rarely detected in any act of dishonesty. They excel the inhabitants of Otaheite as much in modesty, as they fall short of them in the cleanliness of their persons, and the convenience of their habitations. The women, however, were not impregnable; but the terms and manner of compliance were as decent as those in marriage among us, and according to their notions, the agreement was as innocent. The consent of friends was necessary, to obtain the personal favours of a young woman, and by the influence of a proper present, this consent might generally be obtained.

The ingenuity of these people appears principally in the construction and management of their canoes, and in whatever relates to war or fishing. The larger canoes are sixty-eight feet long, five feet broad, and three and a half feet deep; each side consisting of one entire plank sixty-three feet long, fitted and lashed to the bottom, with great dexterity and strength. They have no defensive armour, although they have a great variety of those weapons which are fitted for destruction. The principal of these are spears, darts, battle-axes, and the patoo-patoo, which is fastened to their wrists by a strong strap, lest it should be wrenched from them, and which the principal people generally wear sticking to their girdles, considering it as a military ornament, and part of their dress, like the poniard of the Asiatic, and the sword of the European. Tillage, weaving, and the other arts of peace, seem to be best known, and most practised, in the northern part of this country. They have an instrument which serves at once for spade and plough. The ground is rendered as smooth as in a garden, and every root has its small hillock, ranged in a regular quincunx by lines, which were seen with the pegs remaining in the ground. The religion, government, and language of the New Zealanders, bear a remarkable resemblance to those of the natives of Otaheite. Tupia understood their discourse, and was perfectly understood by them. This similarity of dialogue proves a common origin; but which of the two countries was first peopled; whether they were peopled from one another, or both from some more ancient mother-land; and what this land is, are questions which, in all probability, will never be resolved.

Captain Cook sailed from New Zealand the 31st of March, 1770, and made the coast of New Holland the 19th of April. It was in latitude 37 degrees 58 minutes south, and longitude 210 degrees 39 minutes west, when he first discovered land. The southernmost point of land in sight at this time was judged to

lie in latitude 38 degrees, longitude 211 degrees 7 minutes, beyond which, although the weather was very clear, nothing could be observed. The great body of Van Diemen's land, however, ought, according to the maps, to have borne due south; but the captain not having seen it, does not determine whether it joins the point now discovered or not. Standing to the northward he observed a bay, which seemed to be well sheltered from all winds, and into which he determined to go with the ship. There he anchored in the afternoon under the south shore, about two miles within the entrance, in six fathom water, the south point bearing south-east, and the north point east. This place was a-breast of a small village, consisting of about six or eight houses; and while the sailors were preparing to hoist out the boat, they saw an old woman, followed by three children, come out of a wood. She was loaded with fire-wood, and each of the children had also its little burden. She often looked at the ship, but expressed neither fear nor surprise. Some canoes returned from the fishing; the men landed, and the old woman having kindled a fire, they began to dress their dinner, to all appearance wholly unconcerned about the ship. They were all stark naked, the woman herself being destitute even of a fig leaf. It was natural to imagine that these savages, who seemed to pay no regard to the ship's coming into the bay, would have paid as little attention to the people's coming on shore. But as soon as the boat approached the rocks, two of the men came down upon them to defend their coast, and the rest ran away. Each of the two champions was armed with a lance about ten feet long, and a short stick, which he seemed to handle as if it was a machine to assist him in throwing his lance. They called out in a loud harsh tone, and in a language which none of those in the boat, although Tupia was of the party, understood a single word. The courage of these Indians was remarkable, as they

were but two against forty in the boat; which the captain ordered to lie on her oars, while he endeavoured to obtain the good-will of his opponents by throwing them nails, beads, and other trifles, which they took up, and seemed to be well pleased with. When he made signs to them that the ship wanted water, they waved with their hands, which he interpreted as an invitation to land But this was not their meaning; for when the boat began to advance, they renewed their opposition One appeared to be a youth of nineteen or twenty, and the other a man of middle age; both of such determined obstinacy, that it was necessary to fire a musket between them. Upon the report, the youngest dropped a bundle of lances upon the rock, but recollecting himself in an instant, he snatched them up again with great haste, and threw a stone at the boat. A second musket was fired, which struck the oldest on the legs, who immediately ran to one of the houses distant about an hundred yards, and returned with a shield or target for his defence A third musket was fired before they betook themselves to flight, and left the boat master of the shore. Here there was abundance of water, and such a variety of plants, that the captain gave it the name of Botany Bay. It lies in latitude 34 degrees south, and longitude 152 degrees 37 minutes east. The country in general is level, low, and woody. There are two kinds of trees, larger than the English oak; one of them yields a reddish gum, like *sanguis draconis*, and the wood is heavy, hard, and dark coloured. The woods abound with birds of an exquisite beauty, particularly of the parrot kind; and crows exactly the same with those in England. About the head of the harbour, where there are large flats of sand and mud, there is great plenty of water-fowl; and on the banks themselves are vast quantities of oysters, muscles, and cockles, which seem to be the principal subsistence of the inhabitants.

The captain having left this place, where he could establish no intercourse with the natives, proceeded northwards, in order to examine the eastern coast of New Holland, and to distinguish by name the more remarkable places that he met with in his voyage. Having passed what he called Hervey's Bay, distinguished by Mangrove trees, he anchored in Bustard Bay, in latitude 24 degrees 4 minutes south, longitude 151 degrees 42 minutes east. He gave it that name from the great numbers of birds of the bustard species, as large as turkies, one of which weighed seventeen pounds and a half, and was the most delicate bird that had been met with during the whole voyage. Here are oysters in great numbers, and of various kinds; among others the hammer oyster, and abundance of small pearl oysters. And Captain Cook says, that if in deep water there is equal plenty of such oysters at their full growth, a pearl fishery might be established, to very great advantage. Proceeding about two degrees farther north, he anchored again in Thirsty Sound. From the great variation in the needle, when brought on shore, and from several other observations at this place, it seems probable that iron ore abounds in the hills. Along the whole coast the sea conceals shoals, which suddenly project from the shore, and rocks that rise abruptly like a pyramid from the bottom.

Off Cape Tribulation, which lies in latitude 16 degrees 6 minutes south, and longitude 146 degrees 39 minutes east, our intrepid and hitherto successful adventurers were exposed to the most imminent danger. On the 10th of June, at eleven o'clock at night, the ship suddenly struck against a coral rock, and became immoveable, except by the heaving of the surge, which beating her against the craggs of the rock on which she lay, caused so violent a concussion, that it was with the utmost difficulty any one on board could stand on his legs. At the dawn of day, land appeared at eight leagues distance, with-

out any island in the intermediate space upon which they might be set on shore by the boats, and afterwards proceed to the main, if the ship should go to pieces: the wind, however, died away, till it became a dead calm, by which the ship escaped instant, and otherwise inevitable, destruction. At eleven in the forenoon it was high water; but so much shorter was the day-tide than that of the night, that, notwithstanding the ship had been lightened nearly fifty tons, she did not float by a foot and a half. Thus disappointed, they proceeded to lighten her still more, by throwing overboard every thing that could possibly be spared. The water now began to rush in so fast, that two pumps could scarcely keep her free. At five in the afternoon the tide again began to rise, and with it the leak increased so fast, that it was necessary to man two more pumps, of which one only could be wrought. Three of the pumps, however, being kept going, the ship righted at nine; but by this time the leak had gained so considerably, that it was imagined she must go to the bottom as soon as she ceased to be supported by the rock. The floating of the ship therefore was anticipated, not as an earnest of deliverance, but as a forerunner of destruction. The boats were not capable of carrying all on shore, where, should any of the crew be able to arrive, their fate would be still more melancholy than that of those who perished in the shipwreck. Banished on a coast where even nets and fire-arms could scarcely furnish the means of subsistence, and possessing the means of no effectual defence against the natives, they must speedily fall a prey to indigence or ferocity, or languish during the remainder of life in a desolate wilderness, without the hope of any domestic comfort, and cut off from the society of men. To those only who have waited in such a suspense, death has approached in his wildest terrors. While every one was reading his own sensation in the countenance of his companions, the ship floated, and

was heaved into deep water. It was no small consolation to find that she did not now admit more water than she had done upon the rock. By the gaining of the leak upon the pumps there were no less than three feet nine inches water in the hold; and the men having endured excessive fatigue of body, and agitation of mind, for more than twenty-four hours, and having but little hope of succeeding at last, began to flag, when this favourite circumstance again animated their vigour, and made them exert the most extraordinary efforts. But none of them could work at the pumps above five or six minutes together, and then, being totally exhausted, they threw themselves down upon the deck, though a stream of water was running over it from the pumps several inches deep. When those who had succeeded them had worked their spell, and were exhausted in their turn, they threw themselves down in the same manner, and the others starting up renewed their labour. At eleven o'clock a breeze from the sea springing up, the ship was got under sail, and stood for the land. The exact situation of the leak could not be discovered, and therefore it was impossible to stop it within, and it was as impossible to continue that degree of labour, by which the pumps had been made to work. In this situation a happy expedient was adopted. It is called fothering the ship, and is done by taking a large studding-sail, on which a quantity of oakum and wool chopped small and mixed together, was stitched down in handfuls as lightly as possible; over this the dung of sheep and other filth was spread; and the sail, thus prepared, was hauled under the ship's bottom by ropes, which kept it extended. When it came under the leak, the suction which carried in the water, carried in with it the oakum and wool from the surface of the sail, which in other parts the water was not sufficiently agitated to wash off. This contrivance succeeded so happily, that one

pump was able to reduce the water from the leak: and so susceptible are mankind of sudden joy whenever so partially relieved from imminent danger, that scarcely greater transport could have been felt, if they had been arrived into a safe harbour, than this favourable alteration occasioned. At six in the evening the ship was brought to an anchor for the night in seventeen fathom water, at the distance of seven leagues from the shore, and one from the ledge of rocks upon which she had struck. The next morning she came to an anchor within two miles of the shore, no harbour having been discovered. But the day following was most propitious by the discovery of a harbour to leeward, most excellently adapted to the purpose for which it was wanted; and what was no less fortunate than remarkable, in the whole course of the voyage no place had been seen which would have afforded the same relief to the ship in the situation she then was. Three whole days intervened before a favourable wind arose to carry them into their destined haven, in which time they found leisure and inclination to reflect, that there was nothing but a lock of wool between them and destruction. At length these buffeted adventurers set their impatient feet on land, after giving the strongest proof of a manly, inflexible firmness; for, says Captain Cook, "upon this occasion I must observe, both in justice and gratitude to the ship's company and the gentlemen on board, that, although in the midst of our distress, every one seemed to have a just sense of his danger, yet no passionate exclamations or frantic gestures were heard or seen; every one appeared to have the most perfect possession of his mind, and every one exerted himself to the utmost with a quiet and patient perseverance, equally distant from the tumultuous voice of terror, and the gloomy inactivity of despair." Their change of situation was now visible in every countenance, for it was most sensibly felt in every breast. They had sailed three

hundred and sixty leagues, with a man continually in the chains heaving the lead, which perhaps never happened to any other vessel. They had been three months entangled among shoals and rocks that every moment threatened them with destruction; frequently passing the night at anchor, within hearing of the surge that broke over them; sometimes driving towards it even while their anchors were out, and knowing that if by any accident, to which an almost continual tempest exposed them, they should not hold, every person on board must inevitably perish.

The harbour which afforded them relief in this extreme emergency, they named after their vessel Endeavour River. It lies in latitude 15 degrees 26 minutes south, and its longitude by observation is 214 degrees 42 minutes 30 seconds west. It is only a small bar, harbour, or creek, which runs in a winding channel three or four leagues inland, and at the head of which there is a small brook of fresh water. There is not depth of water for shipping above a mile within the bar, and at this distance only on the north side, where the bank is so steep for nearly a quarter of a mile, that a ship may lie afloat at low water, so near the shore as to reach it with a step, and the situation is extremely convenient for heaving down; but at low water the depth upon the bar is not more than nine or ten feet, nor more than seventeen or eighteen at the height of the tide; the difference between high and low water at spring tides being about nine feet. At the time of new and full moon it is high water between nine and ten o'clock. This part of the coast is so barricaded with shoals as to make the harbour exceedingly difficult of access; the safest approach is from the southward, keeping the main land close upon the board all the way; and the situation of the harbour may always be found by the latitude, which has been very accurately laid down.

The captain having refitted at this place, where the principal refreshment to be procured was turtle, and

a plant called in the West Indies, Indian kale, set sail the beginning of August, to examine the northern extremity of the country. The rocks and shoals off this coast are more dangerous, perhaps, than in any part of the globe; for here are reefs of coral rising like an immense wall, almost perpendicularly out of the sea; always overflowed at high water, and at low water in many places dry. The enormous waves of the vast southern ocean meeting with so abrupt a resistance, break with inconceivable violence, in a surf which no rocks or storms in the northern hemisphere can produce. The danger of navigating the unknown parts of this ocean was greatly increased to our adventurers, by their having a crazy ship, and being short of provisions and every other necessary. "Yet," says Captain Cook, "the distinction of the first discoverers made us chearfully encounter every danger, and submit to every inconvenience; and we chose rather to incur the censure of imprudence and temerity, which the idle and voluptuous so liberally bestow upon unsuccessful fortitude and perseverance, than leave a country which we had discovered, unexplored, and give colour to a charge of timidity and irresolution."

The captain resolved to keep the main land on board in his future route to the northward; because, if he had gone without the reef, it might have carried him so far from the coast as to prevent his being able to determine whether this country joined to New Guinea. This was a question which former navigators had left undecided, and which Captain Cook was determined to decide. In the execution of this enterprise, he braved such dangers as would have appalled the resolution of any man whose spirit for discovery had not extinguished all regard to personal safety. He found the two countries to be divided by a narrow sea or strait, the north-east entrance of which lies in the latitude of 10 degrees 39 minutes south, and in the longitude of 218 degrees 30 mi-

nutes west. It is formed by the northern extremity of New Holland, and a congeries of islands, which, it is probable, extend all the way to New Guinea. These islands differ very much in height and circuit, and many of them seemed to be well clothed with herbage and wood, and well peopled with inhabitants.

To this channel or passage the captain gave the name of Endeavour Straits. Its length from north-east to south-west is ten leagues, and its breadth five leagues, except at the north-east entrance, where it is less than two miles, being contracted by the islands which lie there. On one of these islands the captain took possession of the eastern coast of New Holland, from the latitude of 38 degrees to 10 degrees 30 minutes south, in the name of his Majesty King George the Third, and distinguished that immense extent of country by the appellation of New South Wales. The ascertaining of the division between New Holland and New Guinea was the last discovery made by Captain Cook in this voyage. He was now arrived in seas which had been already navigated, and where every coast had been laid down by Dutch or Spanish navigators. Instead, therefore, of following this judicious and enterprising adventurer in his navigation to the Isle of Java, and his voyage homeward, it is proper to look back, and consider the information that may be derived from his discoveries relative to New Holland.

This immense island, for such is the title by which it seems to be improperly distinguished, exceeds in magnitude the habitable parts of the continent of Europe; extending from 10 degrees to 44 degrees south, between 110 degrees and 154 degrees east. It received the name of Holland from its having been chiefly explored by Dutch navigators. The land first discovered in those parts was called Eendraght, or Concord Land, from the name of the ship which made the discovery in 1716. Two years after, ano-

ther part of this coast was discovered by Zeachen, who gave it the name of Arnheim and Diemen, though a different part from what received the name of Diemen's Land from Tasman; the latter being the southern extremity of the island, whereas the former lies in 15 degrees south. Van Meitz, Carpenter, and Dampier discovered different parts of the coast; but our information derived from all these adventurers was nothing in comparison of what we have received from Captain Cook.

The whole eastern coast of New Holland is well watered by brooks and springs, but there are no great rivers. The face of the country, every where bleak and barren, is considerably less so towards the south, where the trees are taller, and the herbage richer; but no underwood is any where to be seen. There are but two sorts of timber trees, the gum tree and the pine; the esculent plants are few, but there are a variety of such as gratify the curiosity of the botanist. The species of birds are numerous, and many of exquisite beauty. Venomous serpents abound, and great variety of reptiles, most of which are harmless. The greatest natural curiosity in this country is the ant, of which there are several sorts. One is green, and builds its nest upon trees, by bending down the leaves, and gluing the points of them together, so as to form a purse. The viscus used for this purpose is an animal juice, which nature has enabled them to elaborate. Thousands of these busy insects were seen using all their strength to hold the leaves in a proper position, while other industrious multitudes were employed within, in applying the gluten. "To satisfy ourselves," says Captain Cook, "that the leaves were bent and held down by these diminutive artificers, we disturbed them in their work, and as soon as they were driven from their station, the leaves in which they were employed sprung up with a force much greater than we could have thought them able to conquer by any combi-

nation of their strength. But although we gratified our curiosity at their expence, the injury did not pass unrevenged, for thousands immediately threw themselves upon us, and gave us intolerable pain with their stings, especially those which took possession of our necks and our hair, from which they were not easily driven." There is another species, possessing no power of tormenting, and resembling the white ants of the East Indies. These construct nests upon the branches of trees three or four times as big as a man's head; the materials of which are formed of small parts of vegetables kneaded together with a glutinous matter, with which nature has furnished them. Upon breaking the outside crust of this dwelling, innumerable cells, furnished with inhabitants, appear in a great variety of winding directions, all communicating with each other, and with several apertures which lead to other nests upon the same tree. They have also another house built upon the ground, generally at the root of a tree, and formed like an irregularly-sided cone, sometimes more than six feet high, and nearly as much in diameter. The outside of these is composed of well-tempered clay, about two inches thick, and within are the cells, which have no opening outward. Between these two dwellings, one of which is their summer, and the other their winter residence, there is a communication by a large avenue, or covered way leading to the ground by a subterraneous passage. The fish here are of kinds unknown to Europe, except the shell-fish and the mullet. Upon the shoals and reef are the finest green turtle in the world, and oysters of various kinds, particularly the rock oyster, and the pearl oyster. In the rivulets and salt creeks are alligators.

This extensive country is very thinly inhabited, and that by men in the lowest stage of savage life. On the coast, the natives never appeared in larger companies than thirty together, and the ground being entirely uncultivated, they drew their principal subsist-

ence from the sea. It is probable that the inland parts of the country are totally destitute of inhabitants. The only tribe with which any intercourse was established, consisted of twenty-one persons, twelve men, seven women, a boy and a girl. The men are middle-sized, clean limbed, and remarkably vigorous and nimble. Their countenances are expressive; their voice soft and effeminate; their bodies encrusted with dirt, which makes them appear almost as black as negroes. They crop their black hair, and keep their beards short by singeing them. The women were never seen but at a distance, for when the men crossed the river to the ship they left them behind. Neither sex have any conscious sense of indecency in discovering the whole body. They received the things that were given them, but were insensible to all the signs that were made that something was expected in return. Many of the trinkets that had been given them were afterwards found thrown negligently away in the woods, like the playthings of children, which please only when they are new. The bodies of many were marked with large scars, inflicted with some blunt instrument, and which they signified by signs to have been memorials of grief for the dead. There was no appearance of a town or village in the whole island; their houses were framed without art or industry; some of them only sufficient for a man to stand upright in, but not large enough for him to extend his length in any direction. They are built with pliable rods, about the thickness of a man's finger, in the form of an oven, and covered with palm leaves and bark. The door is a large hole. Under these houses or sheds they sleep, coiled up with their heels to their head, in which position one of the houses will hold three or four persons. Towards the north of the island these houses were made still slighter; one side being entirely open, and none of them above four feet deep. These hovels were set up occasionally by a wandering hord, in any place that would

furnish them for a time with subsistence, and left behind them when they removed to another spot. When they mean to continue only a night or two at a place, they sleep without any shelter except the bushes and grass, the latter of which is here nearly two feet high. They have a small bag, about the size of a moderate cabbage net, which the men carry upon their back by a string that passes over their heads. It generally contains a lump of paint and rosin, some fish-hooks and lines, shells of which their hooks are made, a few points of darts, and ornaments of shells and bones, with which they adorn their wrists and noses. This is the whole inventory of the richest man among them. They are unacquainted with the use of nets in fishing. Their fish-hooks are neatly made, and some of them extremely small. For striking turtle they have a peg of wood, about a foot long, and well bearded; this fits into a socket at the end of a staff of light wood, as thick as a man's wrist, and eight feet long. To the staff is tied one end of a loose line, about four fathoms long, the other end of which is fastened to the peg. To strike the turtle the peg is fixed into the socket; and when it has entered his body, and is retained there by the barb, the staff flies off, and serves for a float to chace their victim in the water. It assists also to tire him, till they can overtake him with their canoes, and haul him ashore. Their lines are made of the fibres of a vegetable, and are from the thickness of half an inch to the fineness of an hair. They bake their provisions by the help of hot stones, like the inhabitants of the south sea islands. They produce fire with great facility, and spread it in a wonderful manner. For this purpose they take two pieces of dry soft wood. The one is flat, the other a stick with an obtuse point at one end. This they press upon the other, and turn it nimbly by holding it between both hands as we do a chocolate mill. By this method they get fire in less than two minutes, and from the smallest spark increase it with great

speed and dexterity. "We have often seen," says Captain Cook, "one of them run along the shore, to all appearance with nothing in his hand, who stooping down for a moment, at the distance of every fifty or an hundred yards, left fire behind him, as we could see, first by the smoke, and then by the flame among the drift wood, and other litter that was scattered along the place. We had the curiosity to examine one of the planters of fire when he set off, and we saw him wrap up a small spark in dry grass, which, when he had run a little way, having been fanned by the air which his motion produced, began to blaze. He then laid it down in a place convenient for his purpose, inclosing a spark of it in another quantity of grass, and so continued his course." Their weapons are spears or lances; some have four prongs pointed with bone and barbed. To the northward the lance has but one point; the shaft is made of cane, straight and light, from eight to fourteen feet long, consisting of several joints, where the pieces are let into each other and bound together. The points of these darts are either of hard heavy wood, or bones of fish: those of wood are sometimes armed with sharp pieces of broken shells stuck in, and at the junctures covered with rosin. The canoes to the northward are not made of bark, but of the trunk of a tree hollowed by fire; and none of them carry more than four people. The only tools seen among them are the adze, wretchedly made of stone; some small pieces of stone in the shape of a wedge; a wooden mallet, and some awkward instruments, or rather fragments of shells and coral. The uncultivated state of the inhabitants of New Holland; their total ignorance of agriculture and the arts most necessary to human life, accounts for their being found in very small numbers together. They could not live in large societies without being exposed to perish for want of the necessaries of life. But it is hard to say how there comes to be so very few of these little wan-

dering communities in a country of such amazing extent; and whether they are thinned by civil broils, excited by the horrid appetite of devouring each other, that prevails in New Zealand, or that their population is prevented by any other causes, cannot be ascertained. Though their country is at so little distance from New Guinea, they have never in all probability visited that island. If they had, the cocoa nuts, bread-fruits, plantains and other vegetables which abound there, would naturally have been transplanted to New Holland. But no traces of them are to be found; and the miserable inhabitants, destitute of all necessaries but what they procure by fishing, unacquainted with the use of clothes to defend them against the rigour of the elements, and unprepared to live in such numbers together, as might enable them to obtain the smallest degree of knowledge even in the rude arts of uncultivated life, are reduced to the lowest condition in which the human species have ever been discovered in any part of the globe. Yet men sunk in this humiliating state, present us with the rudiments of all the arts and passions which distinguish the greatest and most polished nations. Their contrivances for fishing prove them capable to attain the highest pitch of mechanical ingenuity. Their regard to separate property shows them as susceptible of avarice as they are sensible to the dictates of justice; and their attempts, however aukward, to adorn their persons, indicate a desire to please, and to render themselves mutually agreeable. One advantage of these voyages into distant lands is to furnish materials for the history of man. They prove, beyond the possibility of dispute, the elevation and dignity of his nature; for how unfortunate soever his external circumstances, he discovers himself, by the plainest marks, to possess the seeds of all those various attainments which distinguish the heroes and sages of the most enlightened periods.

It is equally agreeable to the writer and reader to

dwell on the brilliant and useful discoveries of British navigators in distant parts; and it is extremely mortifying to be obliged to return from this pleasing theme, to record the unhappy measures of the British administration, which have involved the navy, the army, and the whole empire in circumstances not less disgraceful than calamitous and afflicting. It would not, however, be agreeable to the truth of history entirely to ascribe the distressing scenes which followed, to the negligence and incapacity of ministers. Notorious as these have appeared, the situation and behaviour of the nation at large, seemed to forebode some fatal calamity. Intoxicated with more than expected prosperity, the people, at the close of the late war, were seized with an extravagant degree of giddy insolence, which made them despise the rest of mankind. In an overgrown and wealthy capital, where every capricious absurdity is apt to be carried to the most vicious excess, the vulgar were taught to spurn at regularity, subordination and law. From resentment, envy, and the worst passions incident to the human frame, the meanest of mankind were capable of throwing the nation into confusion; of heaping an oppressive weight of popular odium on the servants of the crown; and, however defective their dexterity, yet working with such sturdy engines as the ignorant prejudices of a licentious rabble, they were able to divide the one half of the island against the other. Our enemies saw with pleasure the effect of their wretched cabals, which were not more despicable in themselves than destructive in their consequences: France and Spain learned with inexpressible joy the employment of the British parliament in the never-ending debates concerning the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes. They were charmed with the petitions and remonstrances of the city of London; and were glad to find the English ministers too much employed in an altercation with the magistrates of the metropolis, and in quieting unhappy riots, to engage in vi-

gorous measures for re-establishing their authority in America.

The conduct of administration, with regard to this country, was beyond any thing that their most sanguine wishes could have hoped. Contradictory instructions given to the governors; taxes imposed and repealed again and again; assemblies called and dissolved, and allowed to sit again without disavowing the measures which had occasioned their former dissolution; troops sent, driven out, with many alternate proposals of violence and submission; treasons charged, adopted by parliament, not proved, nor attempted to be proved, neither detected nor punished.—The administration of Lord North, who, already chancellor of the exchequer, was in the beginning of 1770 appointed first lord of the treasury, did not announce any alteration in the hesitating, ambiguous conduct which had been hitherto maintained. The first measure which he adopted relative to America was to bring in a bill for a repeal of part of an act passed in the seventh of his present Majesty, establishing duties on paper, painters colours, glass, and tea. The duties on the other articles were abolished, that on tea only was continued. The motives assigned for the bringing in this bill were, the dangerous combinations which these duties had given birth to beyond the Atlantic, and the dissatisfaction which they had created at home, among the merchants trading to the colonies. It did not fail to be remarked on this occasion, that while the minister condemned these duties in the gross, and the law upon which they were founded as so absurd and preposterous that it was astonishing how it could originate in a British House of Commons, he yet, notwithstanding this decisive declaration, proposed a repeal of but part of the law, and still continued the duty on tea; lest he should be thought to give way to American ideas, and to take away the impositions, as having been contrary to the rights of the colonies.

Another inconsistence, not less glaring, and of still more importance was, the declaring the law of taxation, while no vigorous step was taken to enforce it.

Great Britain, disturbed by factious riots at home, and threatened with a rebellion in America, was to be insulted by the unprovoked hostility of foreign powers. Our unhappy intestine divisions, which had gradually spread from the convulsions in the capital to the remotest parts of the empire, had so filled the hands and engaged the thoughts of government, that little attention either had or could for some time past have been given to our foreign interests. Thus convulsed at home, and in a state of contention with our colonies, already productive of the most alarming appearances, it was not to be supposed, from the known systems of policy established and practised among rival states, that such evident opportunities of advantage would be overlooked by the natural and ever watchful enemies of Great Britain. The state of France, indeed, being nearly as unfortunate as our own, prevented that kingdom from expressing her secret animosity. But the principles of the family compact actuated every member of the house of Bourbon; and a stroke was at this time aimed by Spain which affected the honour of the British flag, and tarnished the recent glory of the nation.

The first discovery, the situation, and the importance of Falkland Islands, have already been described. Gold and silver being almost the only objects which excited the attention of the first discoverers and conquerors of the new world, these islands producing nothing of this kind were neglected for almost two centuries. Experience, and the extension of commerce, have at length shewn the probability that the southern parts of the new world afford other commodities, which may be turned to as great advantage by industrious nations as mines of gold and silver. In particular it is thought, that the

greatest and most advantageous fishery in the world might be established there; and navigators say, that an hundred whales are to be met with in the high southern latitudes, for one that is to be found on the coast of Greenland. Besides this motive, which was alone sufficient to excite the enterprise of a commercial nation, Lord Anson's voyage fully explained the advantages that would result to England in time of war, from having a friendly port and place of refreshment considerably more to the south, and much nearer Cape Horn than the Brazils. The jealous and disagreeable character of the American Portuguese, which rendered it desirable to avoid all dependence on such insidious and contemptible allies; the great length of the voyage, by which the vigour and health of the men, as well as water and other provisions, were exhausted before they arrived at the place of action; were the principal inducements mentioned by Lord Anson for carrying this measure into execution. He pointed out the place most proper for forming the establishment, and, when at the head of the Admiralty, made preparations for sending frigates to make discoveries in those seas, and particularly to examine the condition and circumstances of the above-mentioned islands. But this project was not so cautiously conducted as to escape the vigilance of the court of Spain, who made such representations on this subject to the British ministry that the scheme was for the present laid aside, and continued dormant till the conclusion of the last war, when it was again revived by the earl of Egmont, who then presided in the Admiralty. Accordingly Commodore Byron was sent out in the year 1764, the success of whose expedition we have already related. About the same time M. Bougainville sailed into those seas to make discoveries for the crown of France, and touched at Falkland's Islands. But, in a requisition of the court of Spain, the French easily sold or ceded all right to any property in what is called the Magellanica regions;

with which sale or disposition it appears that Great Britain was not acquainted, nor even with any settlements ever formed there by the French.

In the year 1769, there was an English frigate and a sloop upon that station; and Captain Hunt of the Tamer Frigate cruising off Falkland's Islands fell in with a Spanish schooner belonging to Port Solidad taking a survey of them. The English captain, according to the orders which he had received, desired the Spaniard to depart from that coast as belonging to his Britannic Majesty. The schooner departed, but returned in two days after, and brought on board an officer with letters and a present from Don Philip Ruez Puenta, the Spanish governor of Port Solidad. These letters were couched in terms of apparent civility. Don Ruez affected to disbelieve the report of the captain of the schooner, and attributed Captain Hunt's being in those seas to chance or stress of weather. He offered him upon that presumption every refreshment, and all acts of kindness in his power; but if the improbable account which he had received should happen to be true, he warned the English captain of his danger, reminded him of the violation of treaties, and the sole dominion of the king of Spain in those seas; and at the same time authorized the Spanish officer to order the English subjects immediately to depart.

Captain Hunt, in answer to the Spanish officer with whom the governor had desired him to correspond, asserted the sole dominion of his Britannic Majesty, as well by right of discovery as settlement, and warned the Spaniards in his name, and by his orders, to depart the islands, and allowed them six months from the date of the letter to prepare for their departure. The Spanish officer made a formal protest, as well upon the grounds already mentioned as upon Captain Hunt's refusing to allow him to visit the settlement, and his threatening to fire into the Spanish schooner upon her attempting to enter the

harbour; he also protested against the captain's going to Solidad which he had proposed in an amicable manner, and declared that it should be considered as an insult.

About two months after this transaction, two Spanish frigates of considerable force, with troops on board for the new settlement, arrived at Port Egmont, the principal place in Falkland's Islands, under pretence of wanting water. The commander in chief wrote a letter to Captain Hunt, in which he expressed great astonishment at seeing an English flag flying, and a kind of settlement formed; charged him with a violation of the last peace, and protested against the measure in all its parts, at the same time declaring he would abstain from any other manner of proceeding until he had acquainted his Catholic Majesty with this disagreeable transaction. Captain Hunt, as before, founded his possession on the claim of right, justified his conduct by the orders of his sovereign, and again warned the Spaniards to depart totally from those islands.

The Spanish frigates having continued eight days at Port Egmont, during which time they were supplied with water, and treated with great civility by our people, departed seemingly without any hostile intention. But Captain Hunt, dreading the consequences which soon followed, thought proper to return as soon as possible to England, to give an account of what had passed to the Admiralty. He was succeeded at Port Egmont by the Favourite sloop, Captain Maltby, which, with the Swift, Captain Farmer, each of sixteen guns, formed the whole force upon that station. Even this was unfortunately lessened, the Swift being overset in the Straits of Magellan where she had gone to make discoveries. The people, except three, were happily saved, by the fortitude and constancy of a few of their number, who, in an open cutter, undertook a voyage of three weeks in the most boisterous seas in the world.

They arrived at Port Egmont, and brought the Favourite to the relief of their distressed companions.

It was not long after this dreadful danger and unexpected deliverance, when a Spanish frigate came into the same port, under pretence that she had been fifty-three days from Buenos Ayres, and was distressed for water: but three days after, her consorts, consisting of four other frigates, also arrived, and it soon appeared that they had been only twenty-six days at sea, had parted from the first in a gale of wind, and instead of being in their way to Port Solidad, were now arrived at their place of destination. These five frigates carried one hundred and thirty-four pieces of cannon, and had on board between sixteen and seventeen hundred men, including soldiers and marines; besides which, they had brought with them a train of artillery, and other materials sufficient to have invested a regular fortification.

A Spanish broad pendant was immediately hoisted on the arrival of the four last frigates; and as no doubt of their intentions now remained, Captain Farmer ordered most of the officers and men who had belonged to the Swift, to come on shore to the defence of the settlement, while Captain Maltby began to bring the Favourite nearer to the Cove. Upon the first motion of the Favourite, one of the Spanish frigates sent an officer on board, to acquaint the captain that if he weighed, they would fire into his vessel. He, however, got under sail, regardless of this menace: the frigate fired two shot, which fell to leeward of him; and three of the Spanish vessels got under way, and worked to windward as he did.

The whole strength of the English in the island consisted in a wooden block-house, which had not even a port-hole in it, and only four pieces of cannon, which were sunk in the mud, to defend it. From the first appearance of the Spanish force, Captain Farmer had been active in clearing the stores out of the

block-house, and in endeavouring to make it as defensible as its nature would permit. He raised the cannon, cleared the platform, and cut out port-holes. In the mean time, letters were sent from the Spanish commodore to both the captains separately, requesting them, in the politest terms, to consider his great power, and their own defenceless situation; and that they would, by quitting the place, prevent his being under the disagreeable necessity of proceeding to hostilities. These were followed by another the next day, in which he offered, if they would quietly, and with good-will, abandon Port Egmont, he would peaceably put his troops on shore, and treat them with all the consideration which the harmony subsisting between the two powers required; that he would allow them to carry away all their property, and give them a receipt for any part of it they might chuse to leave behind, in order that the matter might be amicably adjusted between their respective courts. If, contrary to expectation, they should endeavour to maintain the settlement, he would then proceed to the accomplishment of his orders; and in that case threatened them with an attack by sea and land, expatiating in a pompous style on the spirit and brilliancy which they might experience in his military and naval forces. He concluded by requiring a categorical answer in fifteen minutes after the receipt of his letter.

To this arbitrary summons the British officers replied, that words are not always deemed hostilities, and that it was impossible for them to believe he should venture, in a time of profound peace, and when by his own acknowledgment the most perfect harmony subsisted between the two courts, to commit an act of the most fatal tendency. That the king of Great Britain was able to defend the honour of his flag, and to protect the security of his dominions in all parts of the world: and, had even a shorter time than fifteen minutes been allowed them to deliberate,

it could not alter their determined resolution to defend the charge intrusted to them to the utmost of their abilities.

Previously to the designed attack, the Spanish commodore desired that some of our officers might be sent to view the number and condition of the troops and artillery which he intended to land, in order to persuade the English captains of the inefficacy of their obstinate resistance to his commands. This was complied with; but without shaking the British resolution. The Spanish frigates then warped in close to the shore, and moored head and stern opposite to the block-house and battery. The same evening, the 9th of June, Captain Maltby came on shore with fifty of the Favourite's men, who brought with them two six-pounders, ten swivels, and a quantity of small arms and ammunition. The next morning a part of the Spanish troops and artillery landed, about half a mile to the northward of our people; and when they had advanced half way from the place of their landing, the rest of the boats, with the remainder of the troops and artillery, put off from one of the Spanish frigates, and rowed right in for the Cove, being covered by the fire of the frigates, whose shot went over the block-house.

The English fired some shot; but seeing the impossibility of defending the settlement, and the Spaniards having now broke through all the limits of peace and amity, so that their hostility could neither be denied nor explained away, our officers with great address having brought the affair to that point which they desired, determined, with equal propriety, to save the valuable lives of their people, who must have been unavoidably cut off in this unequal contest. Accordingly they hung out a flag of truce, and demanded articles of capitulation.

The substance of these articles, concluded between the English captains on one hand, and Don John Ignatio Madariaga, major-general of the royal navy

of Spain, on the other, was, that the British subjects should be allowed to depart in the Favourite, and to take with them such of their stores as they thought proper; that an inventory should be made of the remainder, which were to be deposited in the hands of the governor of Solidad, who became answerable for them; that the English flag should continue flying on shore and on board the sloop; but that they were to exercise no jurisdiction except over their own people; nor to appear under arms until the time of embarkation, to which they were to march out with drums beating and colours flying. There was a restriction with regard to the time of their departure, until the governor of Solidad, or his deputy, should arrive to make the inventories, and to take charge of the stores. For the better security of this limitation, a new and wanton insult was offered to the British flag, the Favourite's rudder being forcibly taken away, and kept on shore during the time of their detention. The account of the violent transactions of the Spaniards at Falkland's Islands, previously to this open and unprovoked hostility, was brought to England by Captain Hunt, early in the month of June. The nation heard the news with indignation and resentment; especially as they had already much reason to complain of the ungenerous conduct of the Spaniards in detaining some thousands of English prisoners, seized under pretence of carrying on an illicit trade by the Spanish guarda-costas. The necessity of putting ourselves in a respectable condition of defence was insisted on by the most popular members in both houses. Their partizans clamoured against the tameness of administration, and maintained the necessity of an immediate declaration of war, in order to disappoint the perfidious designs of our ancient and inveterate enemies.

The malignant nature of these designs, it was said, appeared too evidently in a dreadful national calamity, which happened about this time, in the confla-

gration at Portsmouth. An event so prejudicial to our maritime strength, attended with such critical circumstances, was considered as a part of a great and settled plan for the reduction of our power and opulence. The fire which happened about the same time in Petersburgh, and which was also accompanied by some alarming particulars, did not lessen the suspicion on this occasion; and the reward of a thousand pounds offered by government, in the Gazette, for the discovery of those who had occasioned the fire in the dock-yard at Portsmouth, added a new cause of jealousy and distrust.

The loss sustained by the fire was supposed, according to the first loose calculations, to amount to half a million, but by later and more accurate estimates, it was made to be only 150,000*l.* which is comparatively nothing to the dreadful consequences that must have ensued, without a speedy and effectual assistance. The quantity of stores consumed was supplied with great expedition from the other docks; the public buildings and work-houses were soon restored; and the loss was thus rendered of very little consequence to our marine in general.

Notwithstanding the alarm occasioned by these transactions in the nation, the ministry made little preparation for war. Some ships indeed were put into commission, and there was greater bustle in the dock-yards than in the time of profound tranquillity. It was not, however, till the latter part of August, that houses were opened at the ports for manning sixteen sail of the line, and press-warrants were not issued till nearly a month after. Much about this time the Favourite returned with our people from Falkland's Islands; but, notwithstanding the melancholy story which they told, to the disgrace of the English name, such was the licentiousness and depravity of the times, that even the manning of the navy met with great difficulties. The legality of press-warrants was publicly called in question, and the opinions of

counsel applied to on the subject. In the city of London, upon the election of Alderman Crosby to the mayoralty, that magistrate totally refused to back the press-warrants, and asserted, that the considerable bounty granted by the city, was intended to prevent such violences. Alderman Wilkes had before discharged an impressed man. Such transactions will transmit, in proper colours, to posterity, the names of those patriotic magistrates, who did their utmost to impede the public service, when the security of the British dominions and the dignity of the crown were at stake.

When the parliament was assembled the 13th of November, 1770, the speech from the throne took notice, that an immediate demand had been made from the court of Spain, of such satisfaction as there was a right to expect for the injury received; and at the same time declared, that the preparations for war should not be discontinued, until full reparation should be obtained. The addresses of both houses of parliament were spirited, and the strongest and most unreserved assurances were given, that every degree of requisite support should be cheerfully granted. At the same time that the blessings of peace were acknowledged, the fullest confidence was placed in his Majesty, that he would never be induced, by a mistaken tenderness for the present ease of the people, to sacrifice their more essential and more lasting interests. So early as the 29th of November, forty thousand men were voted for the sea-service; extensive grants were afterwards passed for the ordinary and support of the navy; the land forces for home service were augmented from about seventeen thousand to above twenty-three thousand effective men; a new battalion was added to the ordnance, and a small addition made to the pay of the subaltern officers belonging to that corps.

As the session advanced, the prospect of peace seemed gradually to diminish. The negociation and

the tranquil intentions of Spain, which had been alleged by the ministry, in answer to the clamours for immediate war, were no longer heard of, and a state of hostility with that country seemed to be considered as the probable issue of this affair. In fact, the negociation was for a considerable time interrupted, and only renewed through the mediation of France, and finally concluded at the earnest desire of that court, and the terror inspired into the Spaniards by the vigour of the British preparations.

About a fortnight before the arrival of our people from Falkland's Islands, a letter was received at the office of Lord Weymouth, secretary of state for the southern department, from Mr. Harris, our minister at Madrid, acquainting government, that a ship had arrived from Buenos Ayres, with an account of the intended expedition, its force, and the time fixed for its sailing. At the same time Prince Masserano, the Spanish ambassador, acquainted his lordship, that he had good reason to believe the governor of Buenos Ayres had taken it upon him to make use of force, in dispossessing our people of Port Egmont; and that he was directed to make this communication, to prevent the bad consequences of its coming through other hands; at the same time expressing his wishes, that whatever the transactions at Port Egmont may have been, in consequence of a step taken by the governor, without any particular instruction from his Catholic Majesty, they might not be productive of measures dangerous to the good understanding between the two crowns.

Lord Weymouth replied, that if force had been used, it was difficult to see how the fatal consequences could be avoided; that the instructions given to the British officers at Falkland's Islands were of the most pacific nature; but that still the circumstance of M. Buccarelli, the governor of Buenos Ayres, having acted without orders, left an opening for conciliation, provided the ambassador would dis-

avow the conduct of that gentleman. Prince Masserano, however, declared, that he had no instructions to that purpose, but deprecated all resolutions and measures that might involve the two crowns in a war.

Upon a second conference with the ambassador, Lord Weymouth demanded, in his Majesty's name, as a specific condition of preserving the harmony between the courts, a disavowal of the proceedings at Port Egmont, and that the affairs of that settlement should be restored to the precise state in which they were previous to these proceedings. He at the same time sent instructions to Mr. Harris, to inform M. Grimaldi, the Spanish minister of state, of what had passed here, and of the proposed satisfaction, which alone could put it in his Majesty's power to suspend his preparations for hostility. M. Grimaldi at first expressed himself in very vague terms. He had reason to foresee that some disagreeable event would happen in the South Seas, from the notorious disapprobation of the court of Spain to any British establishments in those parts. He could not blame the conduct of M. Buccarelli, as it was founded upon the laws of America. At the same time he wished to have prevented this conduct, and had actually, upon the first surmise of the design, dispatched a vessel from the Groyne, to hinder it from being put in execution; that the Spanish nation had so little to get, and so much to lose by a war, that nothing but the last extremity could reduce them to so violent a measure; and that the king his master wished only to act consistently with his own honour and the welfare of his people; and that so far as our demand was compatible with those two points, there was no doubt of its being agreed to. In a subsequent meeting, he assured the British envoy, that his Catholic Majesty was determined to do every thing in his power to terminate this affair in an amicable manner: that instructions for this purpose had been trans-

mitted to Prince Masserano at the court of London, differing from the requisition of that court in terms only, and not essentially, so that he had no doubt the proposals which they contained would readily be adopted.

Prince Masserano, accordingly, proposed a convention to Lord Weymouth, in which the king of Spain disavowed any particular orders given to M. Buccarelli, at the same time that his Majesty allowed that this governor had acted agreeably to his general instructions, and to the oath which his office obliged him to take. He further stipulated the restitution of Falkland's Islands, without prejudice to his Catholic Majesty's right; and he expected that the king of Great Britain would disavow Captain Hunt's menace, which, he said, gave immediate occasion to the steps taken by M. Buccarelli. To this it was answered, that when his Britannic Majesty's moderation condescended to demand redress for the injury which his crown had received, he could not possibly accept as a convention that satisfaction to which he had so just a title, without entering into any engagement in order to procure it. That the idea of his Majesty's becoming a contracting party upon this occasion, is entirely foreign to the case, for having received an injury, and demanded the most moderate reparation of that injury his honour can permit him to accept, that reparation loses its value if it is to be conditional, and to be obtained by any stipulation whatsoever on the part of his Majesty.

Upon this answer, Prince Masserano told Lord Weymouth, that he had no power to proceed in this affair, except by convention, without farther instructions from Madrid. While the ambassador sent for these, Lord Weymouth dispatched an express to Mr. Harris, to lay before the Spanish minister the unexpected obstacles that had arisen in this affair, and to demand a direct answer to the object of his first requisition. For several days, however, no answer

was returned; but at length M. Grimaldi intimated, that the king his master had sent instructions to Prince Masserano, by which he was empowered to treat again, and to grant every reasonable satisfaction for the supposed insult; that his Catholic Majesty was willing to come into any method regarding the manner of giving the satisfaction that should appear the most eligible to the king of Great Britain; expecting, however, that, as he went such a great length to save his honour, his own should also be considered, so far as it did not interfere with the satisfaction that was to be offered.

Nothing could appear to be more satisfactory than these pretended instructions given to Prince Masserano. M. Grimaldi's answer was given the 7th November, and was received in London the 19th; but it soon appeared, that the conduct of Prince Masserano did not at all accord with the pacific intentions and conciliatory sentiments professed at Madrid. The earl of Rochford, who succeeded Lord Weymouth in office, wrote a letter to Mr. Harris, dated the 21st December, in which he informed him, that all negociations with the Spanish ambassador had for some time been at an end, the answer to the king's demand being totally inadmissible; and that, it being inconsistent with his Majesty's honour to make any farther proposal to the court of Spain, he was desired to withdraw from Madrid with all convenient speed.

Thus was the negociation entirely broken off. How it came again to be renewed, seems to have been better known in all the coffee-houses of Europe, than to the English secretaries of state. No document relative to its renewal has ever been laid before parliament or the public; but it is reasonable, from the duplicity and design discovered by Spain in the whole transaction, to look for the motives of conciliation in every other quarter, rather than in the pacific or friendly dispositions of the court of Madrid.

The family compact, by which the different

branches of the house of Bourbon engaged to employ their whole force in the mutual support and assistance of each other, was proposed, and carried into execution by the wisdom and address of the duke of Choiseul. That able minister little imagined that a compliance with the terms of this formidable union might become extremely inconvenient to France, for the interest of which it had been principally formed. It did not occur to him, that the haughty spirit of Spain, exasperated by the disgraceful wounds received in the war with Great Britain, would prompt her to take the first opportunity of seeking revenge; while France, exhausted in her resources—without money or credit—convulsed by the most violent dissensions between the first orders of the state, while the people were ripe for sedition from the want of the chief necessaries of life, might be in no condition to afford Spain that assistance which had been stipulated between them. The credit of the duke who had contrived the family compact, long considered as a masterpiece of policy, but now found to be attended with consequences in every view disgraceful to France, began to decline: he was soon after removed from his employment, and obliged to retire. Other councils prevailed, more agreeably to the pacific dispositions of an aged prince, who had nothing farther in view, but to end his days in the bosom of ease and tranquillity.

The interval that passed between the breaking off of the negociation between Great Britain and Spain, with the transactions of which the public has never been informed by authority, was probably filled up by listening to the mediation of France, which disarmed the ardent hostility of her southern ally, and persuaded her, much against her own inclination, to propose an accommodation, in form at least, less offensive to the dignity of Great Britain. It was not till the first day of the meeting of parliament, January 22d, 1771, after the Christmas recess, that

instead of a convention, a declaration was proposed and signed by Prince Masserano, and accepted by the earl of Rochford. By the former the ambassador, in the name of his master, disavows the violence used at Port Egmont, and stipulates that every thing shall be restored there precisely to the same state in which it was before the reduction; but at the same time declares, that this restoration is not in any wise to affect the question of the prior right of sovereignty of those islands; and, by the acceptance, the performance of these stipulations is to be considered as a satisfaction for the injury done to the crown of Great Britain. [Appendix, No. VI.] This transaction was immediately announced to both houses. While the friends of administration proposed an address of thanks to his Majesty, for having supported the honour of the crown of Great Britain, by a firm and unvaried adherence to his just demand of satisfaction, and for not having too hastily engaged the nation in the hazards and burdens of war; the gentlemen in opposition affirmed, that the whole transaction was equally unsafe and disgraceful; that, instead of having provided a reparation for former hostilities, or a security against future, it contained in itself the genuine seeds of perpetual hostility and war: that it is as dishonourable to the crown itself as to the nation, and admitting the fashionable language, that the dignity of the former, and the reparation to it, are the only objects of consideration, it will be found as shamefully deficient in this respect as in every other. Thus, by this infamous accommodation, the honour of the crown of England had not been put on the same footing with that of inferior kingdoms. The French king, for a small violation of territorial right in the pursuit of an outlawed smuggler, had thought it necessary to send an ambassador extraordinary to the king of Sardinia, to apologize for it in the most solemn and public manner. When the English fleet, under Admiral Boscawen, destroyed some French

ships on the coast of Portugal, Great Britain sent an ambassador extraordinary to the court of Lisbon, to make reparation in honour; but when the Spaniards insult the British flag, and commit the most outrageous acts of hostility on British subjects, they propose a declaration, in which the right to employ the same violence again is maintained and defended; for, though the court of Spain had disavowed the act of hostility as proceeding from particular instructions, she continued to justify it under her general instructions to her governors, under the oath by them taken, and under the established laws of America; and that this justification of an act of violence under general orders, established laws and oaths of office, is far more dangerous and injurious to this kingdom than the particular enterprise which has been disavowed, as it most evidently supposes, that the governors of the Spanish American provinces are not only authorized, but required, to raise forces by sea and land, and to invade our possessions in those parts, in the midst of profound peace. Many other objections of equal weight were urged against the acceptance of the Spanish declaration, in a strong, animated, eloquent, and argumentative protest of the house of peers, which will remain to all posterity to their immortal honour. [Appendix No. VII.]

The tame measures of government, however, were adopted by a great majority. During the recess of parliament, September 16, 1771, Spain fulfilled her engagements contained in the declaration, by the restoration of Port Egmont, which was delivered up to Captain Scott, who was sent thither with a small squadron for that purpose. Ministry seemed to think all was secured by an amicable termination of this dispute; and parliament was not called till after the Christmas holidays, 21st January, 1772. The late meeting of this assembly, which indicated that no urgent business required an early attendance, and the pacific declaration from the throne, were sufficient to

lull the nation into the most perfect security. What, therefore, must have been their surprise and indignation, when a motion was made so early as the 29th of January, that 25,000 seamen should be voted for the service of the ensuing year. It was urged, in support of this motion, that, the French having sent a considerable fleet to the East Indies, we were obliged upon that account to augment our naval force there, as the propriety of our being always superior to them in that part of the world was so evident as not to admit of an argument: that a larger squadron was now employed for the protection of Jamaica and our other West India islands, than in former years of peace; as the importance of our valuable possessions in that quarter, the probability of the Spaniards making their first attempt upon them in case of a war, and the considerable fleet which they kept in those seas, rendered an augmentation of our maritime strength on that station a matter of the most evident necessity: that the war between the Turks and Russians made it also necessary to employ a greater number of ships for the protection of our commerce in the Mediterranean and Archipelago, than had been customary in times of general peace. Besides these general reasons for augmentation, much stress was laid upon the great reform with regard to the guard-ships, it being acknowledged, that for several years past these ships had been exceedingly neglected, and considered merely as jobs; so that at the time of the late expected war, there were neither ships nor men fit for service: but that now things were so much altered for the better, that twenty of the best ships in the navy were kept upon that duty, and were in such complete condition, and so nearly manned, that a slight press would, at any time, enable them in a very few days to put to sea: that the rest of the fleet was also in good condition, and in about a year we should have nearly eighty ships of the line at home fit for service, besides those that were upon foreign duty. Many

pointed and severe sarcasms were levelled at the ministry for accompanying a speech, which breathed nothing but effusions of peace, with all the actual preparations for war. Some gentlemen in opposition declared for the motion, upon the avowed principle that the supplies demanded were not, in any degree, to be considered as a peace establishment; while the greater part of these gentlemen arraigned the adding to the burdens of a nation already sinking under the weight of an overgrown and monstrous public debt. They observed that our peace establishment was every year increasing, and that arguments similar to those at present alleged, could never be wanting to oppose any diminution of it: that already it was nearly double to what it had been at the accession of George the First; last year we had sustained all the inconveniences of a war, without any of its advantages, and it seemed to be the intention of government, to persist for ever in the same ruinous measures. These observations were at present regarded as the clamours of party; and the events which followed fully justified the necessity of keeping the navy on a respectable footing.

The progress of the Russians in the Mediterranean rendered it necessary for both France and Spain to stand on their guard, and to watch the growing greatness of these new and formidable allies of Great Britain. But, in the beginning of the year 1773, there were more extraordinary preparations in the French and Spanish ports, than any apprehension of this kind could account for. Those preparations were carried on with the utmost vigour and industry, not only in the ports of the Mediterranean, but in those of the ocean, and afforded room for suspecting the most hostile intentions. Strong remonstrances on this subject were made on the part of Great Britain at the courts of Paris and Madrid, accompanied with a declaration, that if such measures were continued,

his Britannic Majesty would be under a necessity of sending such a fleet of observation into the Mediterranean, as should effectually frustrate any attempts that might be made against the Russians. In the mean time a powerful fleet was equipped, and ordered to rendezvous at Spithead, and those warlike preparations were for some time continued on all sides. The rapidity with which Great Britain assembled such a naval force as was sufficient to contend with that of all her enemies united, and the magnificence and military pomp with which her mighty preparations were displayed, [Appendix, No. VIII.] restrained the hostile dispositions which had begun to prevail at Paris and Madrid, and prevented the prosecution of measures, which must have involved all Europe in their consequences. The vigorous exertions on this occasion, were like a flash of lightning, which for a moment brightened the gloom of night that sat so thick and heavy on the British councils. But after this transient flash, the darkness returned more intense and horrible than before.

The conduct of administration will be an enigma to posterity. Possessed of a naval force that made the greatest princes of Europe tremble, they have been so far from quieting the dissensions which prevailed in America, that they have totally alienated from Great Britain those flourishing and wealthy provinces, and reduced their country to the utmost state of despair. Two roads were open before them, either of which might have been followed, if not with equal glory, yet with an equally assured prospect of success. By disregarding the clamours of an interested opposition, and making use of the power in their hands, they might, while all Europe were silent in our presence, have inflicted whatever punishment became necessary to reduce the rebellious provinces to an humble sense of their duty. But this method was so far from being adopted, that a first lord of the

treasury talked of compelling the Americans to submit to taxes without bloodshed; and a first lord of the Admiralty, upon the appearance of measures which indicated vigour, voted a reduction of four thousand seamen; assuring the house, that the low establishment proposed would be fully sufficient for conquering the Americans; of whose power and courage he spoke with the utmost contempt, affirming that they were not disciplined, nor capable of discipline, and that formed of such materials, and so indisposed to action, the numbers of which such boasts had been made, would only facilitate their defeat.

Another road, which might have been pursued with universal applause, would have been to abandon that odious measure of taxing a free people, without their own consent. Had that been done, the weight of opposition would have been removed at once, and the Americans, if they still continued refractory, might have been compelled, by force of arms, to acknowledge the supremacy of the mother country, without one sympathizing voice in Europe to condole with them for the rigours of a punishment which they had justly drawn upon their own heads. But neither of these methods being adopted, the ministry hesitated between peace and war; and their tame, equivocal, temporizing conduct brought the Americans to a maturity of resistance and rebellion, the effects of which we should now proceed to describe and deplore, if, in deducing a chronological account of the naval transactions of Great Britain, there were not some intervening events, which deserve to be particularly related.

These are the discoveries which continued to be made by our navigators in the years 1773, 1774, and 1775. They were not, as of late years, confined entirely to the Southern Ocean. While Captain Cook was employed in exploring this part of the globe, the Honourable Constantine Phipps, now Lord Mulgrave, was sent to examine how far navigation

was practicable towards the north pole. This was done in consequence of an application to Lord Sandwich, first lord of the Admiralty, from the Royal Society. His lordship laid the request of the society before the king, who ordered the Racehorse and Carcass bombs to be fitted out for the expedition. The command of the former was given to Captain Phipps, and of the latter to Captain Lutwidge. The idea of a passage to the East Indies by the north pole, was suggested as early as the year 1527, by Robert Thorne, a merchant of Bristol, who addressed a paper to Henry the Eighth on that subject; but Henry, as usual, was involved in a multiplicity of affairs, which prevented him from giving any attention to this application. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Hugh Willoughby made the attempt with three ships, A. D. 1553. He proceeded to the latitude of 75 degrees north, but being obliged to winter in Lapland, he and all his company perished miserably. Three years afterwards Captain Burroughs sailed on the same design, and advanced to 78 degrees north. To him succeeded Captains Jackman and Pell, in 1580, in two ships; the latter of whom, with his ship, was lost. The Dutch began to pursue the same discovery in 1595; and successive voyages were made, which tended rather to prove the impracticability of sailing to high northern latitudes, than the probability of finding the passage, which was the object of these daring enterprises. In 1607, Henry Hudson was equipped by a company of London merchants, to discover a passage by the north pole to Japan and China. He penetrated to 80 degrees 23 minutes north, and was then stopped by the ice. Two years after, another ship was sent out by the Russia company of merchants in London; the ship was commanded by Jonas Poole, who could not, with his utmost endeavours, advance farther than 79 degrees 5 minutes north. In the year 1614, another voyage was undertaken, in which Baffin and Fotherby

were employed, but without success; and next year Fotherby, in a pinnace of twenty tons, with ten men, was equally unsuccessful. John Wood, with a frigate and a pink, sailed in 1676, but returned without effecting any thing. Most of these voyages having been fitted out by private adventurers, for the double purpose of discovery and present advantage, it was natural to suppose that the attention of the navigators had been diverted from the more remote and less profitable object of the two, and that they had not prosecuted the chief purpose of discovery with all the care that could have been wished. "But," says Captain Phipps, "I am happy in an opportunity of doing justice to the memory of these men, which, without having traced their steps, and experienced their difficulties, it would have been impossible to have done. They appear to have encountered dangers, which at that period must have been particularly alarming from their novelty, with the greatest fortitude and perseverance, as well as to have shewn a degree of diligence and skill, not only in the ordinary and practical, but in the more scientific parts of their profession, which might have done honour to modern seamen, with all their advantages of later improvements. This, when compared with the state of navigation, even within these forty years, by the most eminent foreign authors, affords the most flattering and satisfactory proof of the very early existence of that decided superiority in naval affairs, which has carried the power of this country to the height it has now attained.

The captain sailed in February 1773, and after passing the islands of Shetland, the first land he made was Spitzbergen, in latitude 77 degrees, 59 minutes, 11 seconds north, and longitude 9 degres, 13 minutes east. The coast appeared to be neither habitable nor accessible, but formed of high black rocks, without the least marks of vegetation, mostly bare and pointed, in some places covered with snow, and

towering above the clouds. The vallies between the high cliffs were filled with snow or ice. "This prospect," says Captain Phipps, "would have suggested the idea of perpetual winter, had not the mildness of the weather, the smooth water, bright sunshine, and constant daylight, given a cheerfulness and a novelty to the whole of this striking and romantic scene. The height of one mountain seen here, was found to be 1503 yards. The harbour of Smeerenberg, lying in latitude 79 degrees, 44 minutes north, longitude 9 degrees, 50 minutes, 45 seconds east, has good anchorage in fifteen fathoms. Close to this harbour is an island called Amsterdam Island, where the Dutch used formerly to boil their whale blubber, and the remains of some conveniences erected by them for that purpose are still visible. They attempted once to form an establishment here, and left some people, who all perished in the winter. The Dutch ships still resort to this place for the latter season of the whale fishery. The most remarkable views which these dreary regions present, are what are called the ice-bergs. These are large bodies of ice, filling the vallies between the high mountains. Their face towards the sea is nearly perpendicular, and of a very lively green colour. One was about three hundred feet high, with a cascade of water issuing out of it. Large pieces frequently break off from the ice-bergs, and fall with great noise into the water."

Captain Phipps has been very accurate in describing the few animals which these inhospitable regions produce, and was at pains to examine the vegetable and mineral productions. He proceeded afterwards to Mossen Island, in latitude 80 degrees north, longitude 12 degrees, 20 minutes east, which is of a round form, about two miles in diameter, with a lake in the middle, frozen with eternal ice. At the Seven Islands which lie in latitude 81 degrees, 21 minutes north, the two ships became suddenly fast in the ice on the 31st of July. These islands and north east

land, with the frozen sea formed almost a basin, having but about four points open for the ice to drift out in case of a change of wind. The passage by which the ships had come in to the westward became close, and a strong current set in to the east, by which they were carried still farther from their course. The labour of the whole ship's company to cut away the ice proved ineffectual; their utmost efforts for a whole day could not move the ships above 300 yards to the westward through the ice, whilst the current had at the same time driven them far to the north-east and eastward. Appearances remained thus threatening for four or five days, the safety of the crew seemed all that could possibly be effected. As it had been foreseen that one or both of the ships might be sacrificed in the prosecution of the voyage, the boats for each ship were calculated, in number and size, to be fit in any emergency to transport the whole crew. Driven to this state of danger and suspense, on the 6th of August the boats were hoisted out, and every possible method taken to render them secure and comfortable: but the next day the wind blew eastwardly, and the ships were moved about a mile to the westward. But still they ran not so far west by a great way as when they were first beset with the ice; however, on the 9th of August, the current had visibly changed, and run to the westward, by which, both the ships had been carried considerably in that direction. On the 10th, a brisk wind at north-north-east accomplished their deliverance, and freed them from the dreadful prospect of perishing, as many former adventurers had done in those polar regions. Having found it impracticable to penetrate any farther towards the north, they returned to the harbour of Smeerenberg: having, in the prosecution of this voyage, reached 81 degrees, 36 minutes north latitude, and between the latitudes of 79 degrees, 50 minutes, and 81 degrees, traversed 17 degrees and a half of longitude, that

is, from 2 degrees east to 19 degrees, 30 minutes east.

While Lord Mulgrave was employed in ascertaining the limits of navigation towards the north, Captain Cook was indefatigable in examining the respective dominions of land and ocean in the southern hemisphere. Notwithstanding the various voyages, in which this part of the globe had been traversed in the many different directions, all tending to render the existence of a southern continent more improbable, the fact was not yet brought to a clear and demonstrative evidence. To determine this point, was the main object of the present voyage, on which Captain Cook sailed in the Resolution, accompanied by Captain Furneaux in the Adventure, the 2d of April, 1772. The ships in which they embarked were the most proper that could be contrived for such a dangerous undertaking; Captain Cook, in the clear, simple, and manly narrative which he has published of his proceedings, having proved beyond the possibility of doubt, that north-country vessels, or such as are built for the coal trade, are the fittest for pursuing with success the discovery of remote countries. To the nature of his ships, which were of this safe and commodious construction, rather than to his own nautical skill and abilities, he modestly ascribes the singular felicity of his voyage, which was far beyond the experience or hopes of former navigators.

Besides the advantages arising from the form of the vessels, and the skill of the commander, the provision of every sort exceeded all that had been known on any former occasion. Every circumstance and situation that could be foreseen or apprehended was provided for with unexampled liberality. A considerable sum of money was allotted by parliament to encourage two gentlemen, eminent in natural history, to sacrifice their time, and encounter the toils and dangers of such a voyage. With the same generous spirit for the improvement of knowledge, a landscape

painter of merit, and two able astronomers, were also engaged. Nor was any attention omitted which could be deemed necessary for the subsistence, security, health or comfort of all the voyagers.

Having sailed with so many circumstances in their favour, they reached the Cape of Good Hope without meeting with any remarkable occurrence, and departed from thence the 22d of November, 1772. They returned to the same place the 22d of March, 1775, having sailed no less than twenty thousand leagues in two years and four months; an extent of voyage nearly equal to three times the equatorial circumference of the earth, and which it is highly probable, never was traversed by any other ship in an equal period of time. When we take into computation the voyage to and from the Cape to England, the whole time consumed is above three years, during which they experienced every variety of climate from 52 degrees north latitude to 71 degrees south, and were continually exposed to all the hardships and fatigue inseparable from a seafaring life; and yet what is most extraordinary, the numerous ship's company on board the Resolution, preserved a more uninterrupted state of good health, than perhaps they could have enjoyed on shore in the most temperate climate of the earth. In that long and various course of 118 persons only four were lost; and of that four only one fell a victim to sickness; a fact unparalleled in the history of navigation.

In the most healthy climates no bills of mortality have produced such an instance amongst an equal number of men during a like period. When, therefore, we consider the numbers of brave seamen who perished by marine diseases under Anson and other navigators, the greatest praise is due to Captain Cook for his judicious management in preserving the health of the men under his command. The chief preservative against the scurvy, used by this judicious commander, was sweet wort, which was given not only

to those who were afflicted with that distemper, but likewise to those who were thought likely to take it. Portable soup, and sour crout were also used with success in preserving the health of the seamen. The ship's company were kept in constant exercise, and their cleanliness contributed not a little to their health. The ship was frequently purified by fires, a practice much recommended by Captain Cook. Fresh water was also an object of particular attention. Not satisfied with having plenty of that necessary article, he would always have the purest, and, therefore, whenever an opportunity offered, he emptied what he had taken in a few days before, and filled his casks anew. As a testimony of regard for these important improvements for preserving the health of seamen, the Royal Society was pleased to bestow Sir Godfrey Copley's medal upon Captain Cook.

The first cruise from the Cape of Good Hope, November 22d, 1772, was employed in ascertaining the great question concerning the *Terra Australis Incognita*. The two ships sailed in company, and the 10th of December following, being in latitude 50 degrees, 40 minutes south, saw the first ice. The mass was about 50 feet high, and half a mile in circuit, flat at top, and its sides rose in a perpendicular direction, against which the sea broke exceedingly high. From this time the icy mountains began to be very frequent, exhibiting a view as pleasing to the eye, as terrible to reflection; "for," says the captain, "were a ship to get against the weather side of one of these masses of ice, when the sea runs high, she would be dashed to pieces in a moment." On the 14th, being in latitude 54 degrees, 50 minutes south, 21 degrees, 34 minutes east, they were stopped in their route to the southward, by an immense field of low ice, to which no end could be seen to the south east or west. In different parts were hills of ice, like those that had been before found floating in the sea;

and the ship's company were often amused with the flattering prospect of land, which turned out to be fog-banks. A boat was here hoisted out to try the direction of the current, and Mr. Wales the astronomer, accompanied by Mr. Foster the naturalist, took the opportunity of going in her to make experiments on the temperature of the sea at different depths. A thick fog came on, which blackened into such a degree of obscurity, that they entirely lost sight of both the ships. In a four oared boat, in an immense ocean, far from any hospitable shore, surrounded with ice, and destitute of provisions, their situation was as frightful as any that can well be imagined. In this dreadful suspense, they determined to lie still, hoping that, provided they preserved their place, the sloops would not abandon them. The most delightful music they ever heard, was the jingling of the bell of the Adventure, which took them on board. The ships then changed their course to the eastward, where the large islands of ice were hourly seen in all directions; so that they became as familiar to those on board as the clouds and the sea. A strong reflection of white on the skirts of the sky was a certain indication of these islands; although the ice itself is not entirely white, but often tinged, especially near the surface of the sea, with a beautiful berylline blue. This colour sometimes appeared 20 or 30 feet above the surface, and was most probably produced by some particles of sea water dashed against the mass in tempestuous weather. Different shades of white were frequently observed in the larger islands, lying above each other in strata of a foot high, which confirms Captain Cook's opinion concerning the formation and increase of these masses by heavy falls of snow at different intervals. The 26th the islands still surrounded them, behind one of which, in the evening, the setting sun tinged its edges with gold, and brought upon the whole mass a beautiful suffusion of purple. "Although," says Captain Cook, "this was the

middle of summer with us, I much question if the day was colder in any part of England. The mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer, constantly kept below the freezing point. The shooting at penguins afforded great sport but little profit, the birds diving so frequently in the water, and continuing so long under it, that the fowlers were generally obliged to give over the pursuit. Their thick glossy plumage turned off the small shot, and it was necessary to attack them with ball."

Having hitherto met with no land, Captain Cook determined, January 2d, 1773, to go in search of Cape Circumcision, which is laid down by Bouvet in 58 degrees, 53 minutes south, 10 degrees 6 minutes east; but as he saw no appearance of it in that situation, although the weather was very clear, he supposed it to have been nothing but fields and mountains of ice. January 9th, three boats were hoisted out, and in a few hours took up as much ice as yielded fifteen tons of good fresh water. The salt which adhered to the ice, was so trifling as not to be tasted, and entirely drained off by lying a short time on the deck. Cranzt some years ago advanced in his history of Greenland, that those great masses of ice in the northern seas dissolved into fresh water, from which he inferred, that they owed their origin to the vast rivers of those hyperborean regions; but it was reserved to Captain Cook to establish the doctrine, that the freezing of sea water into ice, not only deprives it of all its salt particles, but that it will thaw into soft, potable, and most wholesome water. He has also proved by experience that the bad qualities which for so many ages have been attributed to melted snow and ice-water, are destitute of all foundation. This happy discovery of deriving the greatest advantage from the ice mountains, which seem to threaten our navigators with nothing less than destruction, enabled them to persevere in their voyage for a length of time that would have been otherwise impossible,

and contributed to that unparalleled degree of health which they so fortunately enjoyed.

January 17th, they crossed the Antarctic circle in longitude 39 degrees, 35 minutes east, which had till then remained impenetrable to all former navigators. The ice-islands became more and more numerous; and in longitude 67 degrees, 15 minutes south, an immense field of congelation extended to the southward as far as the eye could reach, which obliged Captain Cook to put about, and stand north east by north. Here were seen many whales playing about the ice, and various flocks of brown and white pintadoes, which were named Antarctic peterels, because they seemed to be natives of that region. January 31st, two islands of ice were seen, one of which appeared to be falling to pieces by the crackling noise it made; and this was the last ice seen, until they returned again to the southward. In the neighbourhood of this latitude they fell in with the islands discovered by Messrs. Thirguelen, St. Allourd and Marion, French navigators, all of which were islands of inconsiderable extent, high, rocky, destitute of trees, and almost entirely barren. It was supposed that the French had discovered the north cape of a great southern continent; but though that land was not found by Captain Cook, his long navigation proves, that their discovery, if not an ice field, could only be a small island.

The Resolution lost sight of the Adventure the 8th of February, and the two sloops continued separate for the rest of the cruise, but afterwards met in Queen Charlotte's Sound, in New Zealand. They proceeded together to Otaheite, and other islands within the tropics, and again separated near to Cook's Straits, and never more joined during the voyage. Captain Furneaux returned a second time to the place of rendezvous at Queen Charlotte's Sound, but his consort having left that place a considerable time

before his arrival, he, after refreshing his crew, set sail for England, which he reached in July 1774.

The Resolution continuing her voyage, in 58 degrees south, Captain Cook observed for the first time, on February 17th, the Aurora Australis, a phenomenon which had never before been taken notice of by any navigator in the southern hemisphere. It consisted of long columns of a clear white light, shooting up from the horizon to the eastward, almost to the zenith, and spreading gradually over the whole southern part of the sky. These columns differed from the southern lights in being always of a whitish colour. The sky was generally clear when they appeared, and the air sharp and cold, the thermometer standing at the freezing point. In March 26th, Captain Cook made the coast of New Zealand, and anchored in Dusky Bay, after having been one hundred and seventeen days at sea, without having once seen any land, in which time they had sailed three thousand six hundred and sixty leagues.

The captain continued during the following months, which are the winter season in that climate, to visit his old friends at Otaheite, the Society and Friendly Islands; and after examining a space of more than 40 degrees of longitude between the tropics, he returned to Queen Charlotte's Sound. There he changed the fair weather rigging of his ship for such as might resist the storms and rigours of the high southern latitudes, and set sail the 27th November, to explore the unknown parts of the Pacific Ocean. On December 6th, he reached the 51st degree, 32 minutes south latitude, and the 180th degree east longitude, consequently the point of the antipodes of London. December 15th, in 66 degrees south, and 159 degrees west, the farther course to the southward was interrupted by the ice islands, among which they were almost embayed, which obliged them to tack to the north, and soon after they got clear of all the ice, but not without receiving several knocks from

the larger pieces, which would have destroyed any vessel less carefully prepared to resist those repeated shocks. They crossed the Antarctic circle a second time on December the 20th, in the longitude of 147 degrees, 46 minutes west. The next morning they saw innumerable ice-islands, high and rugged, their tops formed into various peaks, which distinguished them from those hitherto observed, which were commonly flat at the top. Many of those now seen were between two and three hundred feet in height, and between two and three miles in circuit, with perpendicular cliffs or sides astonishing to behold. Most of their winged companions had now left them, except the grey albatrosses, and instead of the other birds, they were visited by a few Antarctic peterels, two of which were shot. From the appearance of the former, Captain Cook says, "we may with reason conjecture that there is land to the south." December the 22d, they had penetrated to 67 degrees, 31 minutes south, being the highest latitude they had yet reached. The longitude was 142 degrees, 54 minutes west. They celebrated Christmas day the 25th with great festivity, the sailors feasting on a double portion of pudding, and regaling themselves with the brandy which they had saved from their allowance several months before, being solicitous to get very drunk. The sight of an immense number of ice-islands, among which the ship drifted at the mercy of the current, every moment in danger of being dashed in pieces, could not deter them from indulging in their favourite amusement; as long as they had brandy left, they would persist to keep Christmas, though the elements had conspired together for their destruction.

January 3d, 1774, being in latitude 56 degrees south, and longitude 140 degrees 31 minutes west, the wind obliged them to steer more to the north-east than they would have chosen, by which they left unexamined a space of 40 degrees of longitude, and

20 degrees of latitude; which, however, was afterwards explored on the return of the Resolution next year, and likewise by Captain Furneaux in the Adventure much about this time. The wind encreased so much on January the 15th, that it was very doubtful whether our navigators would return to give an account of their voyage. At nine at night, a huge mountainous wave struck the ship on the beam, and filled the deck with a deluge of water, which poured into the cabin, extinguished the lights, and left the gentlemen there in doubt whether they were not entirely overwhelmed, and sinking into the abyss. They passed for a third time the Antarctic circle on January 26th, in longitude 109 degrees west, when they found the mildest sunshine that had been experienced in the frigid zone. This led them to entertain hopes of penetrating as far towards the south pole, as other navigators had done towards the north; but the next day they discovered a solid ice-field before them of immense extent, bearing from east to west. A bed of fragments floated all round this field, which seemed to be raised several feet high above the level of the water. Whilst in this situation, they observed the southern part of the horizon illuminated by the rays of light reflected from the ice to an amazing height. Ninety-seven ice islands were counted within the field, beside these on the outside; many of them were large, and looked like a ridge of mountains, rising one above another till they were lost in the clouds. The outer, or northern edge of this immense field was composed of loose or broken ice close packed together; so that it was not possible for any thing to enter it. Captain Cook, however, is of opinion, that there must be land to the south behind this ice; but adds, "It can afford no better retreat for birds, or any other animals, than the ice itself, with which it must be entirely covered. I, who was ambitious not only of going farther than any body had gone before, but as far as it was possible for man to go,

was not sorry at meeting with this interruption; as it in some measure relieved us, and shortened the dangers and hardships inseparable from the navigation of the southern polar regions. Since then we could not proceed farther to the south, no other reason need be assigned for my tacking and standing back to the north, being at this time in the latitude of 71 degrees, 10 minutes south, and longitude 106 degrees, 54 minutes west."

Captain Cook then went in search of the land, said to have been discovered by Juan Fernandez about a century ago, in latitude 38 degrees, and laid down by Mr. Dalrymple in 90 degrees west, but no such land was found in this situation: if there is any land in the neighbourhood, it can be nothing but a small island. The captain then proceeded to the Marquesas Islands discovered by Mendana in 1595, and visited a second time during this voyage the queen of tropical islands, Otaheite; where, having refreshed, he sailed for the New Hebrides, which though discovered as early as 1606 by that great navigator Quiros, had never been sufficiently explored. Captain Cook, besides ascertaining the extent and situation of the islands of this Archipelago, which had been barely seen by others, added the knowledge of several before unknown, which entitled him to give the whole the appellation which they now bear. They are situated in the direction of north-north west and south-south east, between the latitudes of 14 degrees, 29 minutes, and 20 degrees, 4 minutes south, and between the longitudes of 166 degrees, 41 minutes, and 170 degrees, 21 minutes east, extending 125 leagues. Of all these islands Tierra del Espiritu Santo is the most westerly and the largest, being twenty-two leagues in length, and twelve in breadth. The lands, especially on the west side, are exceedingly high and mountainous, generally covered with wood, and the vallies uncommonly luxuriant, watered by streams and chequered with plantations. On the west side is

a large and safe bay, the two points which form its entrance lying at the distance of ten leagues from each other. The inhabitants are of a stout make, dark colour, with woolly hair; though almost naked, their persons are adorned with shells and feathers; round their middle they wear a narrow belt, from which is hung a matted belt which covers them behind and before as low as the knees. They had no other arms but spears with two or three prongs, which seemed rather intended for attacking fish than men. The second day after the ship arrived on their coast they were with much difficulty prevailed on to approach near enough to receive some presents, of which nails were accepted with the greatest pleasure. They fastened a branch of the pepper plant to the rope by which the nails were let down, which was the only return they made for the generosity of the strangers. Their language bears some resemblance to that of the Friendly Islands.

Mallicollo is the most considerable island next to Espiritu Santo, being eighteen leagues in length, and eight at its greatest breadth. It is not only fertile, but appears to have been very anciently inhabited, as the natives called it by nearly the same name which Quiros had received one hundred and sixty years ago. The people here are described as the most ugly and ill-proportioned that can well be imagined, and differing in almost every respect from the other islanders in the South Sea. They are of a dark colour, and diminutive size, long heads, monkey faces, their hair black and curly, but not so soft or woolly as that of a negro. The men go quite naked; and what increases their natural deformity is a rope as thick as a man's finger tied round the belly, cutting a deep notch across the body, which seems divided into two parts by this tight and unnatural ligature. Most other nations invent some kind of covering from motives of shame, but here a roll of cloth, continually fastened to the belt, rather displays than conceals, and is the

opposite of modesty. They are armed with spears, bows and arrows; but are of a more pacific disposition than most other savages, having ventured to the ship without much invitation, and received with much complacence the presents offered them, for which they made a suitable return. When they returned on shore the sound of singing and beating their drums was heard all night. Mr. Foster supposes there may be fifty thousand inhabitants on this extensive island, which contains more than sixty square miles, covered for the most part with a continued forest, of which a few insulated spots only are cleared, which are lost in the extensive wild like small islands in the Pacific Ocean.

Very few women were seen, but those few were no less ugly than the men; of a small stature, their heads, faces, and shoulders painted red. Their food consists principally of vegetables, which they cultivate with much care; hogs and fowls abound, and by means of their canoes they draw a considerable supply of fish from the ocean. When the Resolution was about to depart, Captain Cook says, "the natives came off in canoes, making exchanges with still greater confidence than before, and giving such extraordinary proofs of their honesty, as surprised us. As the ship at first had fresh way through the water, several of the canoes dropped astern after they had received goods, and before they had time to deliver theirs in return; instead of taking advantage of this, as our friends at the Society Islands would have done, they used their utmost efforts to get up with us, and deliver what they had already been paid for; one man in particular followed us a considerable time, and did not reach us till it was calm, and the thing was forgotten; as soon as he came along-side he held up the article, which several on board were ready to buy, but he refused to part with it till he saw the person to whom he had before sold it; this person not knowing the man again, offered him something in return,

which he constantly refused, and showing him what had been given before, at length made him sensible of the nice point of honour by which he was actuated." Besides excelling all their neighbours in probity, they appeared the most intelligent of any nation that had been in the South Sea. They readily understood the meaning conveyed by signs and gestures, and, in a few minutes, taught the gentlemen of the ship several words in their language, which is wholly distinct from that general tongue of which so many dialects are spoken at the Society Islands, the Marquesas, Friendly Isles, Easter Island, and New Zealand. They were not only assiduous in teaching, but had great curiosity to learn the language of the strangers, which they pronounced with such accuracy, and retained with such force of recollection, as led their instructors to admire their extensive faculties and quick apprehension; so that what they wanted in person or beauty, was amply compensated to them in acuteness of understanding, and probity of heart.

Captain Cook continued sixteen days at another island called Tanna, distinguished by a furious volcano, which was seen burning at a great distance at sea. The soil of this island is composed of decayed vegetables intermixed with the ashes of the volcano, and the country is in general so covered with trees, shrubs, and plants, as to choak up the bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts. The natives are not numerous, but stronger and better proportioned than the Mallicollese. Not one single corpulent man was seen here; all are active and full of spirit. Their features are large, the nose broad, but the eyes full, and generally agreeable. They seem to excel in the use of arms, yet they are not fond of labour; they never would put a hand to assist in any work the ship's company was carrying on, which the Indians of other islands used to delight in: here they throw all the laborious drudgery on the women, many of whom were seen carrying a child on their backs, and a bundle under

their arm, and a fellow strutting before them with only a club or a spear. The plantations consist of yams, bananas, eddoes, and sugar-canes, all which being very low, permit the eye to take in a great extent of country. There are plenty of hogs, but very few domestic fowls. Rats, of the same species common in the other islands, were seen running about in great numbers. They particularly frequent the fields of sugar-canes, where they make destructive depredations.

Captain Cook continued surveying these islands during the month of August 1774; from which he set sail the 1st of September, and having stood to south-west all night, next day no more land was to be seen. On the 4th of September, being in the latitude of 19 degrees 14 minutes south, and the longitude of 165 degrees east, land was discovered bearing south-south-west, for which he continued to steer till five in the evening. The ship had hardly got to an anchor on the 5th, before it was surrounded by a great number of canoes, carrying the natives, most of whom were unarmed. They were prevailed on to receive some presents, lowered down to them by a rope, in return for which, they tied two fish that stunk intolerably. These mutual exchanges brought on a degree of confidence; several came on board, and stayed dinner, but could not be persuaded to eat any thing but yams. They were curious in examining every part of the ship, which they viewed with uncommon attention. They were fond of spike nails, and pieces of coloured cloth, especially red. After dinner, the captain went on shore with two armed boats, carrying with him one of the natives, who had conceived an attachment for him. They landed on a sandy beach before a vast number of people, who had assembled merely from curiosity. The captain made presents to all those his friend pointed out, who were either old men, or such as seemed to be persons of some note: he offered to make presents to some

women who stood behind the crowd, but his friend restrained him from this act of complaisance. A chief, named Teabooma, then made a speech consisting of short sentences, to each of which, two or three old men answered by nodding their heads, and giving a kind of grunt, significant of approbation. The speech was made on account of the strangers, to whom it seemed to be very favourable. The captain having then inquired by signs for fresh water, some pointed to the east, and others to the west. His friend undertook to conduct him to it in the boats; and, having rowed about two miles up the coast to the east, where the shore was mostly covered with mangrove-trees, they entered by a narrow creek, which led to a little straggling village, near which was abundance of fresh water. The ground near this village was finely cultivated, being laid out in plantations of sugar-cane, plantains, yams, and other roots, and watered by little rills, artfully conducted from the main stream which flowed from the hills. Here were some cocoa-nut trees, which did not seem burdened with fruit: the crowing of cocks was heard, but none of them were seen. In proceeding up the creek, Mr. Foster shot a duck, which was the first use these people saw of fire-arms. The captain's friend was at much pains to explain to his countrymen how it had been killed. "The day being far spent," says the captain, "and the tide not permitting us to stay longer in the creek, we took leave of the people, and got on board a little after sun-set. From this little excursion, I found we were to expect nothing from these people but the privilege of visiting their country undisturbed. For it was easy to see they had little more than good nature to bestow. In this they exceeded all the nations we had yet met; and, although it did not satisfy the demands of nature, it at once pleased, and left our minds at ease."

The captain continued the greatest part of the month in examining this island, to which he gave

the name of New Caledonia. It is the largest of all the tropical islands in those parts, and, excepting New Holland and New Zealand, is the largest that has been discovered in the south Pacific Ocean. It extends from 19 degrees 37 minutes, to 22 degrees 30 minutes south latitude, and from 163 degrees 37 minutes, to 167 degrees 14 minutes east longitude; being twelve degrees distant from New Holland; and the country bearing a strong resemblance to those parts of New South Wales that lie under the same parallel of latitude. The whole coast seems to be surrounded by reefs and shoals which render the access to it very dangerous; but at the same time guard the coasts against the violence of the wind and sea, cause them to abound with fish, and secure an easy and safe navigation for canoes. These Indians are stout, tall, and in general well proportioned; their beards and hair black and strongly frizzled, so as to be almost woolly in some individuals. They are remarkably courteous and friendly; but their appearance is very indecent, every Caledonian being, like the natives of Tanna and Mallicollo, an ambulant statue of the Roman garden-god. Yet there was not a single instance of the women permitting any improper familiarities. They sometimes, indeed, mixed in the crowd, and amused themselves with encouraging the proposals of the seamen, beckoning them to come along the bushes; but as soon as the sailors followed, they gave them the slip, running away with great agility, and laughing very heartily at their ridiculous disappointment.

Their houses or huts are circular as a bee-hive, and full as close and warm. The entrance is by a square hole, big enough to admit a man bent double; the side-walls four feet and a half high, the roof more lofty, peaked at the top, and supporting a post of wood ornamented with carving or shells. They commonly erect several huts in the neighbourhood of each other, under a cluster of thick fig-trees,

whose foliage is impervious to the rays of the sun. The ship did not continue long enough on this coast for the captain to acquire any certain knowledge concerning the language, government, and religion of the natives. They are governed by chiefs, like the inhabitants of the New Hebrides, and pay a great degree of deference to old age. No circumstance was observed in their behaviour which denoted the smallest superstition of any kind.

After leaving New Caledonia, the Resolution, steering southward, fell in with an uninhabited island the 10th October, 1774, which the captain named Norfolk Isle, in honour of the noble family of Howard. It lies in latitude 29 degrees 2 minutes south, longitude 168 degrees 16 minutes east. It is about three miles long, very steep, covered with cypress trees, abounding in a red porous lava, which indicates that this island had been a volcano. The productions of New Zealand are here combined with those of the New Hebrides and Caledonia, for the cypress of the one, as well as the cabbage-palm of the other, flourish in great perfection; the former yielding timber for the carpenter, and the latter affording a most palatable and wholesome refreshment. The fish caught here, together with the birds and vegetables, enabled the ship's company to fare sumptuously every day during their stay. Here is likewise the valuable flax plant of New Zealand; all which circumstances, if the island were a little larger, would render it an unexceptionable place for an European settlement.

The greatest defect of Norfolk Island, as well as of all those lately visited, is the scarcity of animal food, with which, however, they might easily be stored in great abundance. But this circumstance obliged the captain to sail again for New Zealand, where he came to an anchor in Queen Charlotte's Sound the 19th of October, 1774. Here he continued till the 10th of November, when, having

already satisfied himself of the non-existence of an undiscovered continent in the Pacific Ocean, he proceeded to examine the Magellanic regions, and, by exploring the unknown parts of the Atlantic and Indian oceans, to complete the survey of the southern hemisphere. The first object of this cruize was, to discover an extensive coast laid down by Mr. Dalrymple, between 40 and 53 degrees west longitude, and in the latitude of 54 and 58 degrees south, in which he places the Bay of St. Sebastian. But no such coast was to be found; and as Captain Furneaux in the Adventure passed across that part where the eastern and western shores are laid down, it appears that no such land exists in the situation assigned to it in the English or French charts. On January 14th. 1775, land was discovered in latitude 53 degrees 56 minutes south, longitude 39 degrees 24 minutes west; the mountains appeared of an immense height, covered with snow and ice to the water's edge. Towards the south, several low lands were seen, which appeared to have some verdure upon them, and were, therefore, called the Green Islands. This land, which was at first supposed to be part of a great continent, was found at length to be an island of seventy leagues in circuit, between the latitudes of 53 degrees 57 minutes and 54 degrees 57 minutes south, and the longitudes of 38 degrees 13 minutes and 35 degrees 34 minutes west. It is not easy to conceive any thing more dismal than the face of nature in this island. Though it was in the midst of the summer of that climate, the island seemed in a manner walled round with ice, and must have been nearly inaccessible in any other season. Captain Cook landed in a bay on the northern side, which he called Possession Bay, because here he took possession for his Majesty of this dreary mansion of sterility under the name of Southern Georgia. The head of the bay, as well as two places on each side, were terminated by perpendicular cliffs of great

height, such as are found in the harbour of Spitzbergen in the northern hemisphere. Pieces were continually breaking off, and floating out to sea; and a great fall happened while the ship was in the bay, which made a noise like cannon. The other parts of the country were not less savage and horrible. The wild rocks raised their lofty summits till they were lost in the clouds, and the valleys lay involved in snow, affording no trees nor shrubs, nor the least signs of vegetation. Captain Cook examined also the southern parts of this island, which afforded nothing but a strong-bladed grass growing in tufts, wild burnet, and a plant of the mossy kind springing from the rocks. Seals, sea-lions, and penguins, were the only appearances of animated nature in this land of desolation, which the captain left on the 26th of January, intending to steer east-south-east until he arrived in 60 degrees latitude, beyond which he meant not to proceed, unless he discovered certain signs of falling in with land. In the prosecution of this design, he met with nothing but thick fogs and continual islands of ice, the unintermitting aspect of which, at length, tired even this persevering adventurer. Many on board were at this time afflicted with severe rheumatic pains and colds, and some were suddenly taken with fainting fits, since their unwholesome, juiceless food could not supply the waste of animal spirits. When the hope of reaching a milder climate diffused a general satisfaction, another frozen country rose to their view the 31st of January. Captain Cook gave the name of Sandwich Land to this discovery, which may possibly be the northern point of a continent; for he is of opinion, that there is a tract of land near the pole, which is the source of most of the ice that is spread over this vast southern ocean. He likewise thinks that it extends farthest to the north, opposite the southern Atlantic and Indian oceans, because ice was always found more to the north in those seas than in the

southern Pacific, which he imagines would not happen unless there was land of considerable extent to the south. But the danger of exploring these unknown regions of winter is so great, that he concludes, seemingly on good grounds, that no man will ever venture farther than he has done. The most southern extremity that was seen lies in latitude 59 degrees 30 minutes south, longitude 27 degrees 30 minutes west. To this he gave the name of Southern Thule, beyond which, nothing, perhaps, will ever be discovered. It is impossible to conceive any prospect more inexpressibly horrid than the appearance of this country; a country doomed by nature never to feel the genial warmth of the sun's rays, and where all life and vegetation are for ever shut up in eternal frost. This forbidden coast admitted of no anchorage; every place that looked like a harbour being blocked up with ice. Captain Cook having thus fully accomplished the design of his voyage, proceeded northward, and arrived at the Cape of Good Hope as above-mentioned.

Before we conclude the history of this voyage, it must not be omitted that Captain Cook, when he returned to Otaheite, April 1774, had an opportunity of examining with more accuracy than had been hitherto done, the naval force of this island. Having gone by appointment to the district called Opparee, to pay a visit to Otoo the king, he observed a number of large canoes in motion; all of which, to the number of three hundred and thirty, drew up in regular order, completely manned and equipped. The vessels were decorated with flags and streamers, so that the whole made a more splendid appearance than could have been expected in those seas. Their instruments of war were clubs, spears, and stones; the canoes were ranged close along-side of each other with their heads ashore, and the stem to the sea; the admiral's vessel being nearly in the centre. Besides the vessels of war, there were an hundred and seventy

sail of smaller double canoes, all with a little house upon them, and rigged with mast and sail, which the war canoes had not. The former must have been intended for transports and victuallers, for in the war canoes there was no sort of provisions whatever. In all the three hundred and thirty vessels, the captain guessed there might be seven thousand seven hundred and sixty men, a number which, he says, appears incredible, especially as he was told the whole belonged to two districts, the island being divided into more than forty. In this computation, however, he allowed but forty men, troops and rowers, to each of the larger canoes, and eight to each of the smaller; an estimate which all his officers agreed rather to fall short of, than to exceed the truth. The fleet was going out to attack the inhabitants of Eimeo, who had ventured to provoke the Otaheiteans to a naval engagement. The captain was obliged to depart before he saw the conclusion of this affair; but the marine strength which he witnessed, led him to important reflections concerning the populousness of Otaheite. "It had been observed," he says, "that the number of war canoes belonging to the districts of Attahourou and Ahopata was an hundred and sixty; to Tettaha forty; and to Matavai ten; and that this district did not equip one fourth part of that number. If we suppose every district in the island, of which there are forty-three, to raise and equip the same number of war canoes as Tettaha, we shall find, by this estimate, that the whole island can raise and equip one thousand seven hundred and twenty war canoes, and sixty-eight thousand able seamen; allowing forty men to each canoe. And, as these cannot amount to above one third part of the number of both sexes, children included, the whole island cannot contain less than two hundred and four thousand inhabitants; a number which, at first sight, exceeded my belief. But, when I came to reflect on the vast swarms which appeared where-

ever we came, I was convinced that this estimate was not much, if at all, too great. There cannot be a greater proof of the richness and fertility of Otaheite, (not forty leagues in circuit), than its supporting such a number of inhabitants."

MEMOIRS OF

RICHARD TYRREL, ESQ.

This gentleman was introduced into the navy under the patronage and care of that brave and ever-to-be-revered character Sir Peter Warren, who was his uncle. His first appointment in the rank of post-captain was, according to Mr. Hardy, to the Superbe; but, from more authentic information, we find his first commission, which is dated on the 26th of December, 1743, was to the Launceston.

In 1748 he commanded a frigate in the West Indies, where a very disagreeable affair, which might have terminated very seriously, occurred; and, on which occasion, his behaviour is recorded in the following very handsome terms by Smollett.

"In the beginning of the year, the governor of Barbadoes having received intelligence that the French had begun to settle the Island of Tobago, sent thither Captain Tyrrel, in a frigate, to learn the particulars. That officer found above three hundred men already landed, secured by two batteries and two ships of war, and in daily expectation of a farther reinforcement from the Marquis De Caylus, governor of Martinique, who had published an ordinance, authorizing the subjects of the French king to settle the Island of Tobago, and promising to defend them from the attempts of all their enemies. This assurance was in answer to a proclamation, issued by Mr. Greenville, governor of Barbadoes, and stuck up in different parts of the island, commanding

all the inhabitants to remove, in thirty days, on pain of undergoing military execution.

" Captain Tyrrel, with a spirit that became a commander in the British navy, gave the French officers to understand, that his Most Christian Majesty had no right to settle the island, which was declared neutral by treaties; and that, if they would not desist, he should be obliged to employ force in driving them from their new settlement. Night coming on, and Mr. Tyrrell's ship falling to leeward, the French captains seized that opportunity of sailing to Martinique; and next day the English commander returned to Barbadoes, having no power to commit hostilities."

No other circumstances relative to this gentleman are known to us till the year 1755, when he was captain of the Ipswich, of sixty-four guns, one of the ships put into commission at Plymouth, we believe in consequence of the apprehended rupture with France. After the declaration of war, he was soon ordered to the West Indies, where we find him, in 1758, in company with the Cambridge, attacking a small fort in Grand Ance Bay, in the Island of Martinico. It was destroyed and levelled with the ground: no material loss or injury being sustained by the gallant assailants: three out of four privateers which lay under its protection were destroyed; the fourth being carried to sea with them, was converted into a tender. An answer made by this brave and worthy man, to his men, who, flushed with victory, wished to destroy a neighbouring village, is too honourable to his humane disposition to be suppressed.

" Gentlemen," said he, " it is beneath us to render a number of poor people miserable by destroying their habitations and little conveniencies of life. Brave Englishmen scorn to distress even their enemies when not actually in arms against them."

In the month of November he distinguished himself in that very memorable and well-known encoun-

ter with the Florissant, of seventy-four guns, and two large French frigates, the account of which we shall give as related in his own letter to Commodore Moore, then commander in chief on that station.

" Agreeable to your orders I sailed on Thursday night from St John's road; the next morning I got between Guadaloupe and Montserrat, and gave chace to a sail we espied in the N. W. which proved to be his Majesty's sloop Weazle; upon inquiry, having found that she had not met his Majesty's ship Bristol, I ordered Captain Boles to come on board for directions as to his farther proceedings.

" While his orders were writing out, we discovered a fleet of nineteen sail W. S. W. standing to the S. S. W. upon which we immediately gave chace with all the sail we could possibly crowd. About two o'clock we discovered that they were convoyed by a French man of war of seventy-four guns and two large frigates. About half an hour after two, the Weazle got so close as to receive a whole broadside from the seventy four gun ship, which did her little or no damage. I then made the signal to call the Weazle off, and gave her lieutenant orders not to go near the seventy-four gun ship, or the frigates, as the smallest of the latter was vastly superior to him in force. By following this advice, he could not come to fire a shot during the whole action, neither, indeed, could he have been of any service.

" While I made all the sail I could, they were jogging on under their fore-sails and top sails, and when we came up within half gun-shot, they made a running fight, firing their stern-chace. The frigates, sometimes raking fore and aft, annoyed me very much, but also so retarded their own way, that I got up with my bowsprit almost over the Florissant's stern. Finding I could not bring the enemy to a general action, I gave the Buckingham a yaw under his lee, and threw into him a noble dose of great guns and small arms, at about the distance of half-

musket-shot, which he soon after returned, and damaged my rigging, masts, and sails, considerably. The largest frigate being very troublesome, I gave him a few of my lower-deck pills, and sent him running like a lusty fellow, so that he never returned into action again. The Florissant likewise bore away, by which means he got under my lee, and exchanged three or four broadsides (endeavouring still to keep at a distance from me) which killed and wounded some of my men. I presume, however, we did him as much damage, as our men were very cool. took good aim, were under good discipline, and fought with a true English spirit.

" An unlucky broadside from the French made some slaughter on my quarter-deck, at the same time I myself was wounded, losing three fingers of my right hand, and receiving a small wound over my right eye, which, by the effusion of blood, blinded me for a little while: I also had several contusions from splinters; but, recovering immediately, I would not go off the deck till the loss of blood began to weaken me. The master and lieutenant of marines were dangerously wounded at the same time.

" I called to my people to stand by, and do their duty, which they promised with the greatest cheerfulness. I then went down and got the blood stopped, but returned upon deck again; till finding the strain made my wounds bleed afresh, I sent for the first lieutenant, and told him to take the command of the deck for a time. He answered me that he would run along-side the Florissant yard-arm and yard arm, and fight to the last gasp. Upon which I made a speech to the men, exhorting them to do their utmost, which they cheerfully promised, and gave three cheers.

" I went down a second time much more easy than before. Poor Mr. Marshall was as good as his word; he got board and board with the Florissant, and received a broadside from her, which killed him as

he was encouraging the men: thus he died an honour to his country, and to the service. The second lieutenant then came upon deck, and fought the ship bravely, yard-arm and yard-arm. We silenced the Florissant for some time; and she hauled down her colours, but after that, fired about eleven of her lower tier, and gave us a volley of small arms; which our people returned with great fury, giving her three broadsides, she not returning even a single gun. Captain Troy, at the same time, at the head of his marines, performed the service of a brave and gallant officer, clearing the Florissant's poop and quarter-deck, and driving her men, like sheep, down their main-deck. Our top men were not idle; they plied their hand-grenades and swivels to excellent purpose. It is impossible to describe the uproar and confusion the French were in.

"It being now dark, and we having all the rigging in the ship shot away, the enemy seeing our condition, took the opportunity, set her fore-sail and top-gallant-sails, and ran away. We endeavoured to pursue her with what rags of sails we had left, but to no purpose. Thus we lost one of the finest two-deck ships my eyes ever beheld.

"I cannot bestow encomiums too great on the people's and officers' behaviour, and I hope you will strenuously recommend the latter to the lords of the Admiralty, as they richly deserve their favour. Notwithstanding the great fatigue the ship's company had experienced during the day, they cheerfully continued up all night, knotting and splicing the rigging, and bending the sails.

"I flatter myself, when you reflect that one of the ships of your squadron, with no more than sixty-five guns, (as you know some of them were disabled last January, and not supplied) and four hundred and seventy-two men at quarters, should beat three French men of war, one of seventy-four guns, and seven hundred men; another of thirty-eight guns,

three hundred and fifty men; and one of twenty-eight guns, two hundred and fifty men; you will not think we have been deficient in our duty. If we had had the good luck to join the Bristol, it would have crowned all.

"Captain Boles being on board the Buckingham, I gave him directions to go down and superintend the lower deck, which he performed with great alacrity.

"As we have been so greatly damaged in our masts, yards, sails, and rigging, particularly our masts, I have thought proper to send the carpenter of the Buckingham, as he can better give you an account, by word of mouth, of what fishes we shall want, than I can in many words of writing.

"Before I conclude, I cannot help representing to you the inhuman, ungenerous, and barbarous behaviour of the French, during the action: no rascally piccaroon, or pirate, could have fired worse stuff into us than they did; such as square bits of iron, old rusty nails, and, in short, every thing that could tend to the destruction of men: a specimen of which, please God, I shall produce to you upon my arrival.

"I send you enclosed a list of the slain and wounded.

"Killed; one officer, five seamen, one marine.

"Slightly wounded; two midshipmen, twenty-six seamen, three marines.

"Died of their wounds; one midshipman, one seaman."

"N.B. The officer killed was Mr. George Marshall, first lieutenant; and the officers wounded were, Captain Tyrrell; Mr. Matthew Winterborne, master; and Mr. Harris, lieutenant of marines."

Smollett adds, that the number of slain on board the Florissant did not fall short of one hundred and eighty, and that her wounded are said to have exceeded three hundred. She was so disabled in her

hull, that she could hardly be kept afloat until she reached Martinique, where she was repaired; and the largest frigate, together with the loss of forty men, received so much damage, as to be for some time quite unserviceable.

No farther particular mention is made of Mr. Tyrrell during the time he continued in the West Indies, from whence he returned in the month of March, with the dispatches from Commodore Moore, containing an account of the attack made, in the month of January preceding, on the Island of Martinico; and that more successful one, which succeeded it, on Guadaloupe. It is almost needless to add, he was most graciously and affectionately received by his Majesty, to whom he was introduced, immediately on his arrival, by Lord Anson.

In the month of August following, he was appointed captain of the Foudroyant, a ship of eighty guns, taken not long before from the French, and esteemed, at that time, the finest of her rate, in the British service. How long he continued in this command does not appear, nor do we find any other particulars related, concerning him, during the time he remained a private captain. In the month of October, 1762, he was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the white, which was the first flag he ever held; but does not appear to have been actually employed till after the conclusion of the war, when he was appointed commander-in-chief on the Antigua station. By his vigilance and attention, he in 1765, defeated a scheme the French had in agitation, of forming a settlement on some of the islands in the neighbourhood of Cayenne; the particulars of which discovery he carefully transmitted to government. This is the only material mention we find made of him during the time he held the above command, which he quitted in the following year. Unhappily, dying on board the Princess Louisa, his flag-ship, when on his return to England, on the 27th of June, 1766, his

corpse was, at his own desire, thrown into the sea.

A very magnificent monument was erected to his memory in Westminster-abbey, of which the following is a description, with the epitaph subjoined.

It was designed and exécuted by that ingenious artist, Mr. Read, who was pupil to the celebrated M. Roubiliac. On the top of the monument is an archangel descending with a trumpet, summoning the admiral to eternity from the sea. The clouds moving and separating discover the celestial light, and choir of cherubs, who appear singing praises to the Almighty Creator. The back ground representing darkness. The admiral's countenance, with his right hand to his breast, is expressive of conscientious hope, while the position of his left arm appears significant of his seeing something awful and impressive. He appears rising out of the sea from behind a large rock, whereon are placed his arms, with the emblems of valour, prudence, and justice. The sea is discerned over the rock at the extremity of sight, where clouds and water seem to join. On one side of it an angel has written this inscription, "The sea shall give up her dead, and every one shall be rewarded according to their works." In her left hand is a celestial crown, the reward of virtue; and her right hand is extended towards the admiral, with a countenance full of joy and happiness. Hibernia, leaning on a globe, with her finger on that part of it where his body was committed to the sea, appears lamenting the loss of her favourite son, in all the agony of heartfelt grief. On one side of the rock is the Buckingham (the admiral's ship), with the masts appearing imperfect. On the other side a large flag, with the trophies of war; near which is the following inscription:—

"Sacred to the memory of Richard Tyrrel, Esq. who was descended from an ancient family in Ireland, and died rear-admiral of the white on the 26th day of

June, 1766, in the 50th year of his age. Devoted from his youth to the naval service of his country, and being formed under the discipline and animated by the example of his renowned uncle, Sir Peter Warren, he distinguished himself as an able and experienced officer in many gallant actions, particularly on the 3d of November, 1758, when commanding the Buckingham, of sixty-six guns, and four hundred and seventy-two men, he attacked and defeated three French ships of war, one of which was the Florissant, of seventy-four guns, and seven hundred men: but the Buckingham being too much disabled to take possession of her after she had struck, the enemy, under the cover of the night, escaped. In this action he received several wounds, and lost three fingers of his right hand. Dying on his return to England from the Leeward Islands, where he had for three years commanded a squadron of his Majesty's ships, his body, according to his own desire, was committed to the sea, with the proper honours and ceremonies."

ARTHUR FORREST, ESQ.

The late Captain Arthur Forrest, whose professional character and talents will long be remembered and esteemed, was the offspring of a highly respectable, though impoverished, family in Scotland. But here, as in many other instances, the *res angusta domi* proved rather and advantage than an evil, as well to his country as to himself: to his country, as it compelled him to adopt a profession, in which he rendered her essential services; to himself, as it enabled him correctly to appreciate, and enjoy, a fortune for which he toiled and fought.

Of the precise period of his birth, or of the commencement of his naval career, we are uninformed; but, as early as the year 1741, he served as lieute-

nant in one of the ships which composed the armament under Admiral Vernon, on the unsuccessful expedition against Carthagena. At the attack of the Barradera battery, conducted by Captain Boscawen, Watson, and Cotes, he greatly distinguished himself; heading a party of seamen, among the foremost who entered the enemy's work. Lieutenant Forrest's gallantry did not meet an immediate reward; but, on the 9th of March, 1745, he was promoted to the rank of post captain, and appointed to the Wager. In 1746, he was employed in this ship on the Jamaica station, and had the good fortune to capture a very large Spanish privateer, of 26 guns, and upwards of 200 men, which had done considerable mischief to the British trade in the Windward Passage. A short time before, the privateer had also taken the Blast bomb-ketch.

From this time, till the beginning of the year 1755, when he was appointed to the Rye, Captain Forrest appears to have been unemployed. Soon after this period he was removed into the Augusta, and ordered to the West Indies; where, in the month of October, 1757, he had an opportunity of distinguishing himself in a very eminent manner. The Augusta was detached by the commander-in-chief, Rear-admiral Cotes, with the Edinburgh and Dreadnought, to cruise off Cape François, for the purpose of intercepting a large convoy, which the French were collecting in that port for Europe, and which were to sail under the escort of M. De Kersaint. On the 21st of the month, October, the French commodore put to sea, with the following squadron, in the hope of compelling Captain Forrest to quit his station:- -

	Guns.	Men.		Guns.	Men.
L'Intrepide	74	900	L'Outarde	44	400
Le Sceptre	74	800	La Sauvage	32	300
L'Opiniatre	64	680	La Licorne	32	300
Greenwich	50	500			
			Total,	370	3880

In addition to their regular complement of seamen, these ships had a considerable number of soldiers on board; but, although the Augusta and Edinburgh were extremely foul, the superiority of the enemy failed of intimidating Captain Forrest. On the contrary, he agreed with his brave associates, to bear down and engage them; and, as will be seen by the subjoined official report from Admiral Cotes, a furious action commenced, and was unremittingly continued for two hours and a half, when M. De Kersaint found himself so much disabled, as to be under the necessity of making a signal for a frigate to tow him out of the line.

"*Port Royal Harbour, November*, 9, 1757.

"On the 25th of last month, Captain Forrest, in the Augusta, with the Dreadnought and Edinburgh under his command, returned from the cruise off Cape François; on the 21st they fell in with seven French ships of war. At seven in the morning the Dreadnought made the signal for seeing the enemy's fleet coming out of Cape François, and at noon discovered with certainty they were four ships of the line, and three frigates. Captain Forrest then made the signal for the captains, Suckling and Langdon, who agreed with him to engage them; accordingly they all bore down; and about twenty minutes after three, the action began with great briskness on both sides. It continued for two hours and a half, when the French commodore making a signal, one of the frigates immediately came to tow him out of the line, and the rest of the French ships followed him. Our ships had suffered so much in their masts, sails, and rigging, that they were in no condition to pursue them. Both officers and seamen behaved with the greatest resolution the whole time of the action, and were unhappy at the conclusion of it, that the ships were not in a condition to follow the French, who had frigates to tow them off. The French, on

this occasion, had put on board the Sceptre her full complement of guns, either from the shore or out of the India ships, and had also mounted the Outarde store ship, with her full proportion of guns, and had taken not only the men out of the merchant ships, but soldiers from the garrison, in hopes their appearance would frighten our small squadron, and oblige them to leave the coast clear, for them to carry out their large convoy of merchant ships; but our captains were too gallant to be terrified at their formidable appearance. So far from avoiding them, they bore down and engaged them with the greatest resolution and good conduct; and I have the pleasure to acquaint their lordships, that the captains, officers, seamen, and marines, have done their duty on this occasion, much to their honour. I hope their good behaviour will be approved by their lordships."

According to a private account of the action, Captain Forrest, perceiving the shattered condition of all his ships, the masts, sails, boats, and rigging, being mostly useless, thought proper to withdraw, lest the loss of a lower mast should leave any of them at the mercy of the frigates. Never was a battle more furious than the beginning; in two minutes there was not a rope or sail whole in either ship.

In the course of the engagement, the Sceptre, Greenwich, and Intrepid, fell on board of each other, in which situation, they were severely cannonaded by the Augusta and Edinburgh. The French commodore, with his crippled squadron, bore away for Cape François, which some of his ships had much difficulty in reaching. The Opiniatre had lost her masts, and the Greenwich was extremely leaky. The loss of the enemy in men, amounted to between five and six hundred, killed and wounded. The Augusta had her first lieutenant and eight men killed, and twenty-nine wounded; the Dreadnought nine killed and thirty wounded; and the Edinburgh five killed and

thirty wounded. Our ships were so much damaged, that Captain Forrest was obliged to bear up for Jamaica; when, the coast being clear, M. De Kersaint hastened the repairs of his squadron, and proceeded to Europe. In the Channel, however, he was overtaken by a violent gale, in which many of the convoy were disabled; and the Opiniatre, Greenwich, and Outarde, having anchored in Conquet road, parted their cables, were driven ashore, and wrecked.

For the credit of Captain Forrest and his associate commanders, it must be added, that when a council of war was holden, prior to the action, the question was not—what superior force the enemy had, or how unequal the combat? Captain Forrest simply observed to his brother officers, "gentlemen, you see the force of the enemy; is it your resolution to fight them or not?" They promptly answered, "It is;" and the council of war ended, having lasted about half a minute!

At the close of the same year, 1757, Captain Forrest had another opportunity of displaying his abilities as an officer. On the 14th December, Rear-admiral Cotes, while on a cruise off Cape Tiberon, with the Marlborough, Augusta, and Princess Mary, took two French privateers, from whose crews he learned, that a rich convoy was preparing at Port au Prince, to sail for Europe under the protection of two armed merchantmen. To ascertain the truth of this statement, the admiral despatched his tender to look into Port au Prince; and finding, on her return, that the Frenchmen's intelligence was correct, he ordered Captain Forrest to proceed off the Island of Gonaives, to cruise for two days; at the expiration of which, should he see nothing of the convoy, to return and join him. On the afternoon of the following day, when Captain Forrest had got well into the bay, between the islands of Gonaives, and St. Domingo, he perceived two sloops; and, to prevent their taking him for a cruiser, he hoisted Dutch colours, and

forebore chasing. At five the same evening, seven more sail were seen, steering to the westward; when to avoid suspicion, Captain Forrest disguised the Augusta, and hauled from them till dark, after which he made sail and followed them. At ten o'clock, he got sight of two sail, one of which fired a gun; the other then parted company, and steered for Leogane. Soon after, eight more sail were seen to leeward, off the Port of Petit Guave. Captain Forrest came up with the ship which had fired the gun, and ordered her commander to strike; threatening, if he alarmed the fleet, he would instantly sink him. The threat produced the desired effect: the Frenchman immediately submitting, without the least opposition. Captain Forrest put his first lieutenant, and thirty-five men, on board the prize, with orders to proceed off Petit Guave, in order to prevent any of the enemy's ships from escaping into that port. At day-light the next morning, the Augusta was in the midst of the convoy; the whole of which, being ten ships, after firing a few guns, and making a feeble resistance, were taken. These prizes were laden with sugar, indigo, coffee, cotton, &c. the cost price of which amounted to 170,000*l*. Captain Forrest carried them to Jamaica, where they were sold.

He soon afterwards came to England; but, on the 16th of January, 1760, having been appointed to the Centaur, he again sailed for Jamaica, with a convoy of thirty-four sail. He arrived at Port Royal on the 6th of March, and continued to serve on the Jamaica station during the remainder of the war.

On the death of Rear-admiral Holmes, which occurred on the 21st of November, 1761, the command of the squadron devolved on Captain Forrest; but, excepting that this duty called forth a display of his vigilance and attention, it afforded him no opportunity of encreasing his professional fame.

In the year 1769, Captain Forrest was again appointed to the command on the Jamaica station, with

the established rank of commodore. As a proof of the interest which he took in the service, and to shew how correct his ideas of naval discipline were, we insert below the standing orders,* which were

* "BY ARTHUR FORREST, ESQ.

'Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels at and about Jamaica.

"For the better preservation of good order and discipline, on board his Majesty's ships and vessels under my command.

"You are hereby required and directed to pay strict regard and obedience to the following articles and regulations; and to consider them as standing orders for your government, during the time you are under my command.

"1st. You are to give written orders to the several lieutenants of the ship under your command, directing them to preserve strict discipline and good order: to keep a constant and regular watch; that, upon any accident or misfortune that may casually happen to his Majesty's service, through neglect or otherways, the officer of the watch may be accountable; that sentries may be placed on the poop, forecastle, and gangways: a set of arms held in constant readiness: all boats to be hailed in due time, which are required and directed to answer in a regular manner, according to the custom of the navy, and not by the unmeaning words of Aye and No: and that they may observe every other point of duty, consistent with their printed instructions, as is becoming officers in his Britannic Majesty's navy; and for preserving and supporting duty, that it may not dwindle into sloth and negligence; but that we may be found active and vigilant, in case of a rupture with any nation, who may prove enemies to his Majesty's kingdom.

"2d. Whereas, it is contrary to all good discipline to have boats kept on shore, after the watch is set, and very prejudicial to men's health, to be unnecessarily exposed to night dews, or the baneful temptations of punch houses, you are, therefore, strictly required and directed, unless his Majesty's service necessarily requires it for the due execution of such orders as you may receive, that you will upon no consideration allow boats to be from the ship you command, after the watch is set. And I do expect, that all officers will have a due regard thereto; and not detain boats that may be sent for their conveniency, a moment after the appointed time, to the hazard of the men's health, or their seduction to desertion; and this as they shall regard my good opinion, or such other censure as the nature of the offence may deserve. And you are hereby required to inform me by letter, and under your hand, when any of your officers shall neglect to pay due obedience to this order.

issued to the captains commanding the respective ships of his squadron.

"3d. You are likewise required and directed to muster your ship's company, and to enter their ages and descriptions in a book to be kept for that purpose, for the readier discovering of such as may desert, that endeavours may be used for apprehending them, and punishing them as their demerits shall deserve.

"4th. Whilst your ship lies in port, you are constantly to exercise your men at small arms, and great guns, and to make them fire at a mark; powder and shot being allowed for that purpose. And you are to see that the top-men, and your boats' crews, are carefully instructed in the use of small arms, and the throwing hand grenades; and when at sea, you are to exercise your men in like manner, as often as the weather will permit, which you are to have constantly noted in your log-book.

"5th. Every ship in port is to take her turn, according to seniority, to examine all ships and vessels which arrive; and the officer is very particularly to inform himself of every matter and occurrence, within the knowledge of the master of the ship or vessel; and to report the same to me every evening, signed by the officer of the guard, according to the form which will be herewith delivered to you. And in case any extraordinary information should appear, the officer of the guard is to acquaint the person from whom he receives it, that I desire to see him, in order to my enquiring more particularly thereinto; and such information is immediately to be transmitted to me, on board the Dunkirk.

"6th. You are hereby required and directed, when there is occasion to revictual the ship under your command, to order your master and purser to attend at the victualling stores, and inspect the provision to be received, before it is sent on board; and if they find it to be fit for his Majesty's service, and the same is reported to you that it will hold good for the time you revictual, you are in that case to receive it; but otherways, it is to be rejected, informing me the reason for such refusal. And you are to direct, that they shall carefully attend hereto; that we may not, after provisions are received, be under the necessity of holding frequent surveys. And in case surveys on provisions become absolutely necessary, they are not to be held by the officers of the ship, if absent from me, but laid aside to be surveyed, by my order, when your ship returns to port.

"7th. When your boatswain, gunner, or carpenter, makes a demand for stores, you are to have regard to the separate orders given you, relative to the careful expense [expenditure] of his Majesty's stores; and to order them to set off, against each article, the particular use for which it is required; and the officer demanding is to inform you what quantity remains in his store-room, of

Unfortunately for the naval interest of his country, Captain Forrest enjoyed the Jamaica command for

each article demanded, for your forming a judgment if such demand is really necessary.

" 8th. Whenever you are anchored in a foreign road or harbour, or any road or bay belonging to his Majesty, you are strictly ordered and enjoined to observe, that the whole respective watches be kept on deck, and that a guard be mounted of marines, with an officer to attend, their cartouch boxes on, swords by their sides, and arms ready at a stand, for preventing any surprise which may tend to the disgrace or dishonour of his Majesty's arms. And if there are no marines, the same to be performed by the small arms men of the watch, with an officer to conduct them. And when you are in any foreign port, you are to make particular observations of its strength, fortifications, yards, docks, ships, advantages and disadvantages in point of defence, and how it may be most advantageously attacked in case of a rupture: likewise ships of war, trade, and such other observations as may occur to you, and tend to the honour of his Majesty's arms. All which you are, at your return, to deliver to me in writing, signed by yourself, together with a journal of your proceedings during your cruise, or the service you may occasionally be sent upon.

" 9th. When you at any time return to port, you are immediately to complete your water and provisions to three months, unless under orders for careening, which is not to be exceeded, but by particular orders; and in all respects, hold your ship ready for sea at a moment's warning, to be ready to answer any emergency that his Majesty's service may suddenly require.

" 10th. If any of your ship's company are sick at the hospital, you are to order your surgeon to attend them twice a week, and report to you the condition he finds them in. He is carefully to inspect the provisions that are served to them, and to see that they are good, wholesome, and conformable to the government's allowance: of which he is to inform himself in the particulars, by applying to the surgeon of the hospital; and, if he finds that every necessary care is not duly administered, or any defect in their provisions or attendance, he is immediately to report the same, for my information.

" 11th. You are, every Monday forenoon, to deliver on board the Dunkirk, or such ship as my pendant may be hoisted on, a weekly account of the state and condition of his Majesty's ship under your command, in which you are to be very exact and particular, that it corresponds with your ship's books, and the state of your stores remaining.

" 12th. You are to give the master of the ship under your command orders and instructions for surveying and making observa-

only a very short period; as he died, much lamented, on that station, on the 26th of May, 1770.

THOMAS BRODERICK, ESQ.

The first mention we find made of this gentleman is in the year 1739, at which time he was third lieutenant of the Burford, under Mr. Vernon. He distinguished himself at the attack of Porto Bello, having been the commander of the party which stormed the lower battery of the Iron Fort, an action so spirited that the defenders imagining no resistance they could make would be sufficient to stem the torrent of the assailants, fled from what they conceived a certain destruction, leaving their governor and a few others who escaped into the upper part of the fort, and immediately afterwards surrendered at discretion.

Mr. Vernon, highly pleased at so conspicuous and serviceable a display of gallantry, conceived no in-

tions.....* as bays, coasts, &c.....* may from time to time be ordered, conformable to the printed directions given herewith; which, if judiciously performed, must tend greatly to the improvement of navigation. You will, therefore, take especial care, that he at all times makes the most accurate remarks in his power, on every article set forth in the said printed orders and instructions; and you are to give him what aid therein, the service you are upon will permit; reporting to me, when you return into port, such observations as have been made, that I may be enabled therefrom to order a further inspection, on matters that promise to tend to public utility, and the benefit of navigation.

"13th. And you are hereby required and directed, to be very observant to all, and every, the foregoing standing general orders; as you shall answer an omission in any particular thereof, at your peril.—Given under my hand, on board his Majesty's ship Dunkirk, in Port Royal Harbour, Jamaica, this 26th July, 1769.

"ARTHUR FORREST.

"*To Captain* ———, *of his Majesty's Ship* ———"

* The MS. is here illegible.

considerable degree of attachment to this gentleman, and advanced him to be commander of the Cumberland fire-ship. He attended the fleet on the well-known expedition against Carthagena, and was there promoted, on the 25th of March 1741, to be captain of the Shoreham frigate, as successor to Mr. Boscawen, who was promoted to the Prince Frederic. In a few days afterwards he was one of the officers ordered to command the boats on a repetition of the attack of the Barradera battery, which the Spaniards had in part re-established. Mr. Broderick behaved on the occasion we have just been relating, in a manner by no means derogatory to that reputation he had before so deservedly acquired in a service nearly similar at Porto Bello. He afterwards accompanied Mr. Vernon on his still less successful expedition against Cuba, and was detached from thence to cruise off Carthagena; in which service he had the good fortune to capture a Spanish vessel, laden with bale goods of considerable value, and specie to the amount, it is said, of seventy thousand dollars. He was, after this success, sent to cruise off Cape François for the protection of the British commerce, at that time much incommoded by the multitude of Spanish privateers which infested those seas. He continued employed in similar services till the month of October 1742, when he was appointed to command the convoy sent, with a small body of troops, to the provinces of Carolina and Georgia, for their better protection against any desultory expeditions that might be undertaken by the Spaniards.

No other particular mention is made of this gentleman while he continued in the West Indies. After his return to England he was, in the month of March 1744, advanced to the command of the Exeter, a fourth rate of sixty guns, at that time fitting for sea at Plymouth, where that ship had been just before rebuilt. As soon as equipped, it was sent to Lisbon as one of the fleet commanded by the brave and unfor-

tunate Admiral Balchen; and, on its return from thence, very narrowly escaped being involved in the same unhappy fate which befel the much-lamented commander-in-chief. The Exeter, during that dreadful storm which overtook the fleet, was in the greatest extremity of distress, having lost both her main and mizen masts, and being thrown on her beam ends, so that twelve of the lee-guns were obliged to be thrown overboard, with the greatest dispatch, to preserve her from sinking. In the month of February 1745, he was one of the members composing the court-martial for the trial of Commodore Griffin, and the different captains with him, a circumstance which we have before related and referred to. In the ensuing month he was removed into the Dreadnought, a ship of equal force with the Exeter, which probably had received so much damage in the preceding storm as to be unfit for immediate service.

We do not find any other memorable mention made of this gentleman till the year 1756, when he commanded the Prince George, a second rate. In the month of May he was appointed commodore of a small squadron, consisting of four or five ships, ordered to the Mediterranean as a reinforcement to Mr. Byng. He left Plymouth on the 30th of May, with some transports full of troops and stores for Gibraltar, and arrived there, after a speedy passage, on the 15th of June. He was promoted at home to be rear-admiral of the blue in four or five days after he left port, and continued to serve on the same station during a part of the ensuing season, under Sir Edward Hawke, who superseded Mr. Byng in less than three weeks after Mr. Broderick's arrival. He returned to England before the conclusion of the year, in the St. George, the ship on board which the court-martial was afterwards held for the trial of Admiral Byng, one of whose judges he was consequently appointed. In 1757 he was appointed third in command of the fleet fitted out for the purpose of attacking Rochfort,

the particulars of which expedition have been already given. He hoisted his flag on board the Namur, a second rate; but is in no other way mentioned even in that torrent of obloquy which burst forth on the failure of the expedition, than as having been employed in reconnoitering and sounding the coast. To have been little engaged in an unsuccessful enterprise is certainly the least disadvantageous to the reputation of a commander, and therefore on such occasions only, want of employment is to be particularly coveted.

In 1758 Mr. Broderick, who was on the last day of January advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the white, was appointed to succeed Mr. Osborne as commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. A fleet of transports and merchant-ships bound thither being put under his convoy, he hoisted his flag on board the Prince George, and sailed the beginning of April. The melancholy misfortune which befel this ship and the greater part of her crew, on the 13th of April, while on their passage to Gibraltar, is deserving of record, and we shall accordingly insert some letters which form a very authentic account of this highly lamentable disaster.

"FROM THE REV. MR. SHARP, CHAPLAIN.

"*Glasgow, off Lisbon, April* 20.

"On Thursday the 13th instant, at half an hour past one in the afternoon, word was passed into the ward-room, by the sentry, that the fore part of the ship, the Prince George, was on fire: the lieutenants ran immediately forward; and myself, with many others, went directly on the quarter-deck, when we found the whole ship's crew was alarmed: the pumps were handed out, the engine and buckets carried forward, and every immediate remedy applied. The admiral, with the lieutenants on watch, kept the quarter-deck, from whence he sent such orders as he thought most expedient for the preservation of the

ship, and the souls in her. Captain Peyton and the lieutenants, on search, found that the fire broke out first in the boatswain's store-room, to which place large quantities of water were applied, but in vain, for the smoke was so very great and hot, that the poor creatures could not get near enough to the flames for their labour to have any effect. On this Captain Peyton ordered skuttles to be made, that the water might be poured in by that means; but there he was defeated likewise, for only two carpenters could be found, and they had nothing to work with for a long time but a hammer and a chissel each. The lower gun-deck ports were then opened; but the water that flowed in was not sufficient to stop the violence of the flames. He ordered, likewise, the powder-room to be wetted, lest the ship should immediately be blown up and every soul perish in an instant. This had the desired effect, and for some minutes we had glimmering hopes. I mention the above particulars as I was below myself, worked with the men as long as I could stand it, went up for air and returned again instantly, consequently an eye witness, I can declare them as facts. The fire soon increased, and raged violently aft on the larboard side; and as the destruction of the ship was now found inevitable, the preservation of the admiral was first consulted. Captain Peyton came on the quarter-deck and ordered the barge to be manned, into which the admiral entered with near forty more, for now there was no distinction, every man's life was equally precious. The admiral finding the barge would overset, stripped himself naked and committed himself to the mercy of the waves; and after toiling an hour, he was at length taken up by a merchantman's boat. Captain Peyton kept the quarter-deck an hour after the admiral left it, when he happily got into a boat from the stern-ladder, and was put safe on board the Alderney sloop. I must be deficient even to attempt a description of the melancholy scene that was before me; shrieking, cries,

lamentations, bemoanings, raving despair, and even madness itself presented themselves. It was now high time to think of taking care of myself: I looked from every part of the ship for my preservation, and soon saw three boats off the stern. I went immediately to my cabin and offered up my prayers to God, particularly thanking him for giving me such resolution and composure of mind. I then jumped into the sea from one of the gun-room ports, and swam to a boat, which put me safe on board the Alderney sloop. There are nearly three hundred people saved; and more might have been saved had the merchantmen behaved like human creatures; but they kept a long way to windward the whole time, and, if possible, to their greater shame be it spoken, instead of saving the men that swam to their boats, they were employed in taking up geese, fowls, tables, chairs, and whatever else of the kind came near them."

"FROM MR. PARRY, AN OFFICER, DATED AS ABOVE.

"About half past one, at noon, being in the office adjoining to the cabin, I saw the admiral run out with two or three officers. On enquiring the cause I was alarmed with a report of the ship's being on fire forward, and it was believed in the boatswain's fore store-room. Every method was taken to extinguish it, but the smoke was so violent no person could get near enough to find where the fire was. About half past two we made the signal of distress; but to render our situation more wretched the fog came on very thick, and the wind freshened; so that it was near four before the Glasgow and Alderney got intelligence of our condition. They then repeated the signal, hoisted out their boats, and stood towards us: but not knowing we had taken care to float our powder, were under sad apprehensions we might blow up, and therefore could not, consistent with their own safety, give us the assistance our deplorable con-

dition rendered us so much in need of. We attempted to scuttle the decks to let the water on the fire, but the people could not stand a minute without being nearly suffocated. About half past four the smoke increased, and the flames began to break out. The admiral then ordered the boats to be hoisted out, got the barge out, and went off, promising to bring a ship along-side of us. I observed her so full that her gun-wale was almost even with the water; and in a few minutes after saw her sink at some distance a stern. Not above three or four were saved out of nearly forty, among whom it pleased God to preserve the admiral. The weather was now become clear, but none of the merchantmen would come near us. Our officers behaved well, and endeavoured to keep the people to the pumps and drawing water; but they were now become quite ungovernable. About a quarter before five Captain Peyton left the ship, and promised as the admiral, but was not able to accomplish it. About five the long boat was endeavoured to be got out, in which were near one hundred people; but as they were hoisting her out one of the tackles gave way, by which she overset, and almost every soul perished. We were now reduced to the greatest distress. You may have some idea of our miserable condition, when I tell you the ship began to be in flames fore and aft, spreading like flax; people distracted, not knowing what they did, and jumping overboard from all parts, I was reduced to the melancholy choice of either burning with the ship, or going overboard. Very few that could swim were taken up, and I that could not swim must have little hopes indeed. About a quarter past five I went into the admiral's stern gallery, where two young gentlemen were lashing two tables together for a raft. I assisted them. One of them proposed to make fast the lashing to the gallery, and lower ourselves down to the tables, then cutting the lashing to commit ourselves to the mercy of Providence. We hoisted

over the tables, but being badly lashed one of them we lost; as soon as the other was down, I proposed to venture first, which they readily consented to. There were about three boats astern; this was the time or never: down I went by the rope; but as there was a great swell of sea it was impossible for any one to follow me, and I was turned adrift. By the cries of the people from the ship to the boats, in about five minutes I was taken up, very near drowned." Out of seven hundred and forty-five persons on board, two hundred and sixty only were saved, the rest, viz. four hundred and eighty-five, perished.

Mr. Broderick with the remnant of his people, pursued his voyage, on board the Glasgow, to Gibraltar. On his arrival there he hoisted his flag on board the St. George, of ninety guns, and served under Mr. Osborne till that gentleman quitted the station, and returned to England in the month of July. He then removed into the Prince, which had been his predecessor's flag-ship, and commanded in chief in the Mediterranean, till the arrival of Mr. Boscawen in the ensuing spring. In the month of February 1759, he was advanced to be vice-admiral of the blue, and continued as second in command of the fleet during the summer. The naval operations in that part of the world were rendered extremely brilliant by the total discomfiture and defeat of M. De la Clue, in the month of August. Mr. Broderick was not able, we believe, to get up time enough to have much share in the action itself; but he is particularly mentioned, by Mr. Boscawen, as having, with his division, burnt the Redoubtable, of seventy-four guns, and captured the Modeste on the following day. We do not find any mention made of him in the line of service after his return to England; nor, indeed, is he otherwise, than as having been advanced to be vice-admiral of the white. He died on the first of January 1769.

WILLIAM BOYS, ESQ.

William Boys, or Boyce. This gentleman was originally brought up in the service of the merchants; and, as far back as the year 1727, was second mate of the Luxborough galley, a vessel in the employment of the South Sea Company. In that year the most lamentable of all disasters befel the unfortunate ship above-mentioned, of which, as well as the subsequent distresses of the major part of the unfortunate crew, we have the following highly interesting though lamentable account:

"On the 23d day of May, 1727, we sailed from Jamaica; and on Sunday, the 25th day of June, were in the latitude of 41 degrees 45 minutes N. and in the longitude of 20 degrees E. from Crooked Island, when the galley was perceived to be on fire in the Lazaretto. It was occasioned by the fatal curiosity of two black boys, who, willing to know whether some liquor spilt on the deck was rum, or water, put the candle to it, which rose into a flame, and immediately communicated itself to the barrel from whence the liquor had leaked. It had burned some time before it was perceived, as the boys were too much intimidated to discover it themselves, having tried all possible means to extinguish the fire in vain. We hoisted out the yaul, which was soon filled with twenty-three men and boys, who had jumped into her with the greatest eagerness. The wind now blowing very fresh, and she running seven knots and a half by the log, we expected every moment to perish, as she was loaded within a streak and a half of her gunnel. We had not a morsel of victuals, nor a drop of liquor, no mast, no sail, no compass to direct our course, and were above a hundred leagues from any land. We left sixteen men in the ship, who all perished in her. They endeavoured to hoist out the

long-boat; but, before they could effect it, the flames reaching the powder-room, she blew up, and we saw her no more. A little before this we could distinguish the first mate and the captain's cook in the mizen top, every moment expecting the fate that awaited them. Having thus been eye-witnesses of the miserable fate of our companions, we expected every moment to perish by the waves, or, if not by them, by hunger and thirst. On the two first days it blew and rained much; but the weather coming fair on the third day; *viz.* the 28th, as kind Providence had hitherto wonderfully preserved us, we began to contrive means how to make a sail, which we did in the following manner:—We took to pieces three men's frocks and a shirt, and with a sail-needle and twine, which we found in one of the black boys' pockets, we made shift to sew them together, which answered tolerably well. Finding in the sea a small stick, we woulded it to a piece of a broken blade of an oar, that we had in the boat, and made a yard of it, which we hoisted on an oar with our garters, for halyards and sheets, &c. A thimble, which the fore-sheet of the boat used to be reeved through, served, at the end of the oar or mast, to reeve the halyards. Knowing, from our observations, that Newfoundland bore about north, we steered as well as we could to the northward. We judged of our course by taking notice of the sun, and of the time of the day by the captain's watch. In the night, when we could see the north star, or any of the great bear, we formed the knowledge of our course by them. We were in great hopes of seeing some ship or other to take us up. The fourth or fifth night, a man, Thomas Croniford, and the boy that unhappily set the ship on fire, died, and, in the afternoon of the next day, three other men, all raving mad, crying out miserably for water. The weather now proved so foggy that it deprived us almost all day of the sight of the sun, and of the moon and stars by night. We used frequently to

halloo as loud as we could, in hopes of being heard by some ship. In the day time our deluded fancies often imagined ships so plain to us, that we have hallooed out to them a long time before we have been undeceived; and, in the night, by the same delusion, we thought we heard men talk, bells ringing, dogs bark, cocks crow, &c. and have condemned the phantoms of our imagination believing all to be real ships, men, &c. for not answering and taking us up. The seventh day we were reduced to twelve in number, by death. The next night the wind, being about E. N. E. blew very hard, and the sea running high, we scudded right before it with our small sail about half down, expecting every moment to be swallowed up by the waves. July the 5th, Mr. Guishnet died; and, on the 6th, died Mr. Steward (son of Dr. Steward, of Spanish Town, in Jamaica) and his servant, both passengers. In the afternoon we found a dead duck, which looked green, and not sweet. We eat it, however, very heartily (not without thanks to the Almighty): and it is impossible for any body, except in the like unhappy circumstances, to imagine how pleasant it was to our taste at that time, which, at another, would have been offensive both to our taste and smell. On the 7th day of July, at one in the afternoon, we saw land about six leagues off. At four o'clock another man died, whom we threw overboard to lighten the boat: our number was then reduced to seven. We had often taken thick fog-banks for land, which as often had given us great joy and hopes, that vanished with them at the same time: but when we really saw the land, it appeared so different from what we had so often taken for it, that we wondered how we could be so mistaken: and it is absolutely impossible for any man, not in our circumstances, to form an idea of the joy and pleasure it gave us, when we were convinced of its reality. It gave us strength to row, which we had not for four days before; and must

infallibly, most of us, if not all, have perished that very night if we had not got on shore. Our souls exulted with joy and praises to our Almighty Preserver. About six o'clock we saw several shallops fishing, which we steered for, having a fine gale of wind right on shore. We went with sails and oars about three or four knots, when we came so near that we thought one of the shallops could hear us (being just under sail and going in with their fish). We hallooed as loud as we could; at length they heard us and lowered their sail. When we approached pretty near them they hoisted it in again, and were going away from us; but we made so dismal and melancholy a noise, that they brought to and took us in tow. They told us our aspects were so dreadful that they were frightened at us. They gave us some bread and water. We chewed the bread small with our teeth, and then, by mixing water with it, got it down with difficulty.

"During our voyage in the boat, our mouths had been so dry, for want of moisture for several days, that we were obliged to wash them with salt water every two or three hours, to prevent our lips glueing fast together. We always drank our own water; and all the people drank salt water, except the captain, surgeon, and myself. In foggy weather the sail having imbibed some moisture, we used to wring it into a pewter bason, which we found in the boat. Having wrung it as dry as we could, we sucked it all over; and used to lick one another's clothes with our tongues. At length we were obliged, by inexpressible hunger and thirst, to eat part of the bodies of six men, and drink the blood of four, for we had not, since we came from the ship, saved, only one time, about half a pint, and, at another, about a wine glass full of water, each man, in our hats. A little food sufficing us, and finding the flesh very disagreeable, we confined ourselves to the hearts only. Finding ourselves now perishing with thirst,

we were reduced to the melancholy, distressful, horrid act of cutting the throats of our companions an hour or two after they were dead, to procure their blood, which we caught in a pewter bason; each man producing about a quart. But let it be remembered, in our defence, that without the assistance that this blood afforded to nature, it was not possible that we could have survived to this time. At about eight o'clock at night we got on shore at Old St. Lawrence Harbour, in Newfoundland, where we were kindly received by Captain Lecrass, of Guernsey, or Jersey, then admiral of the harbour. We were cautioned to eat and drink but little at first, which we observed, as well as the infirmity of human nature, so nearly starving, would allow. We could sleep but little, the transports of our joy being too great to admit of it. Our captain, who had been speechless thirty six hours, died about five o'clock the next morning, and was buried, with all the honours that could be conferred upon him, at that place.

"The names of those persons who were burnt in the ship, who were starved in the boat, and who lived to get on shore, are as follows: *viz.*

"*Burnt in the ship.*

Ralph Kellaway, 1st mate,
Isaac Holroide, 3d mate,
Jerald Hedge, gunner,
James Crook, cooper.

Seamen.

John Johnson,
William Coats,
William Day,
James Ambrose,
Charles James,
Francis Mitto,
Edward Thicker,
Evander M'Avy,
Thomas Hind, quarter-master,
Sharper, } black boys.
Jemmy, }
Coffea, }

"*Starved in the boat.*

Thomas Steward, passenger,
Mr. Steward's servant,
William Piggs, passenger,

Seamen.

John Horn,
John East,
Henry White,
Thomas Croniford,
Simon Eamer,
William Walker,

John Simenton,
William James,
Thomas Nicholson,
Henry Guishnet, clerk.

Cansor,
Hamose,
Merry Winkle,
} black boys.

" *Lived to get on shore.*

William Kellaway, captain,
William Boys, 2d mate,
Tho. Scrimscour, surgeon,
William Batten, Boatswain,
William Gibbs, Carpenter,
Robert Kellaway, a boy,
George Mould, seaman.

" The boat in which we got to Newfoundland, distance a hundred leagues, was only sixteen feet long, five feet three inches broad, and two feet three inches deep. It was built for the Luxborough galley, by Mr. Bradley, of Deal.

" Lieutenant-governor Boys was accustomed to pass annually, in prayer and fasting, the number of days the ship's crew were in distress, as above-mentioned, in commemoration of his wonderful deliverance."

Having afterwards entered into the king's service, we find him, in the month of October, 1741, to have commanded the Ætna fire-ship; into which vessel we believe him to have been promoted from the rank of lieutenant, by Admiral Vernon, who dispatched him home, in the month of October, with intelligence of his having taken possession of Walthenham Harbour, in the Island of Cuba. He afterwards was removed into the Baltimore sloop. We hear nothing more of him till the 25th of June, 1743, when he was advanced to the rank of captain in the navy, and appointed to the Greyhound frigate. We believe him to have been, not long afterwards, ordered to the West Indies,* as he returned from thence in the

* We rather believe he was only sent out to meet the homeward-bound fleet in a certain latitude; for, on the 31st of January preceding, he was one of the members of the court-martial, held on board the Lenox, in Portsmouth Harbour, for the trial of the Captains Griffin, Mostyn, Fowke, and Brett.

month of April, 1745, with a convoy, being then captain of the Princess Louisa, of sixty guns. His ship being immediately refitted and victualled, Captain Boys was immediately ordered out on a cruise off the coast of France, in company with the captains Griffin and Harrison. The particulars of their joint success, which was far from inconsiderable, we have already related. At the persuasion of Mr. Griffin, he quitted the Princess Louisa soon after this time, and took the command of the Pearl frigate, one of the squadron ordered for the East Indies with that gentleman, who had the appointment of commodore and commander-in-chief on that station. Nothing, however, material or beneficial to his fame or fortune took place while he continued in that part of the world. No mention is made of him subsequent to his return to England till after the recommencement of hostilities with France. He then for a short time commanded the Royal Sovereign, a first rate; and was removed from thence, about the year 1759, into the Preston. Towards the close of the summer we find him promoted to be commodore of a small squadron, stationed off Dunkirk, to watch the ships fitted for sea at that port, and destined for a desultory attack on Ireland, under the command of that very active, gallant, and indefatigable naval partizan, Monsieur Thurot.

The enemy had the good fortune to elude the vigilance of the British commodore, who, on hearing the former had escaped, pursued him with the utmost expedition, but without success Thurot, taking refuge in the Swedish port of Gottenburgh, where he continued in no small distress till the commencement of the year ensuing. Mr. Boys was after his return appointed to command as commodore at the Nore; and in the ensuing year retired from the line of active service on being made lieutenant-governor of Greenwich Hospital. He retained this very honour-

able station till his death which happened on the 4th of March, 1774.

It is related of him, as has already been observed, that this gentleman, from the year 1727 to his death, annually observed a strict and solemn fast, on the 7th of July, being the day of his arrival at Newfoundland, after the melancholy loss of the Luxborough galley.

SIR CHARLES KNOWLES.

Sir Charles Knowles is said by some to have entered into the navy on or before the commencement of the war with France, in the reign of Queen Anne, and to have served as a midshipman under Sir John Norris, when captain of the Orford, at the time of the Malaga fight. His rise in the service was slow, but on February 4, 1737, he was promoted to the command of the Diamond frigate. He continued in the same vessel a considerable time; and at the end of the year 1739 was, a short time previously to the open commencement of hostilities with Spain, ordered to the West Indies, with some other ships sent thither, to reinforce Mr. Vernon. When Captain Knowles arrived at Jamaica he found the vice-admiral had sailed on the expedition against Porto-Bello, leaving orders for the commanders of such ships as should arrive out, during his absence, to follow him thither. These instructions were immediately complied with, but the Diamond was not fortunate enough to get into Porto-Bello till the 27th of November, five days after the place had surrendered.

The arrival however of Captain Knowles, though the conquest was previously effected, was particularly pleasing to the admiral, and he was employed

as chief superintendant of the mines formed for the demolition of the Spanish fortifications. This was a task of difficulty for a young and unpractised artist to undertake, as the walls were so well constructed that the workmen employed could scarcely make any impression on them. Mr. Knowles nevertheless contrived to execute his task completely, and with so much adroitness, that, during his continuance under Mr. Vernon's command, that admiral entertaining the highest opinion of his abilities, not only consulted him in all his subsequent land operations, but confided to him the execution of all such enterprises as he deemed best suited to his particular knowledge and bent of genius.

When the squadron returned to Jamaica, Captain Knowles was left to cruise off Carthagena for the purpose of preventing supplies from entering that port, and at the same time of watching the motion of the gallcons. The condition of the ship made it soon afterwards necessary that Captain Knowles should return to Jamaica to refit. The re-equipment not being finished when the admiral sailed from Port-Royal on the 25th of February, to bombard Carthagena, he was not able to join him till the 13th of March, when Mr. Vernon had carried his first project into execution, and had repaired to Porto-Bello for the purpose of refitting. The squadron sailed from Porto-Bello on the 22d, and was joined by Mr. Knowles while on its passage to the place of attack. He was appointed by the admiral to command the fire-ships, together with the bomb-ketches and small craft, which he was to place in such convenient stations as he thought most proper or likely to annoy and reduce the Castle of St. Lorenzo. In short, the whole direction of that branch of the attack was given to him. Having made his dispositions, he brought the vessels to an anchor about three o'clock in the afternoon, covering the bomb-ketches with the Diamond and other ships, whose commanders were put under

his direction; the cannonade and bombardment commenced. About ten at night the admiral, with two other ships of the squadron, got in to support him. This spirited assault was continued, without interruption, till the next day, when the Spaniards displayed a flag of truce as a signal of their submission.

Captain Knowles was now chosen by the admiral as a negociator; and being sent ashore, quickly returned with the governor, between whom and Mr. Vernon the terms of capitulation were settled without difficulty. These being adjusted, Captain Knowles had the honour of being appointed governor of the fortress which he had, in a very eminent degree, contributed to the reduction of. He had a force allotted to this service consisting of five lieutenants and one hundred and twenty men. The first measure taken by him was to place a strict guard on the custom-house, which happened to be full of the most valuable commodities destined for the partial lading of the Spanish galleons. These were embarked without delay; and the works of the castle being, under the inspection of Mr. Knowles, demolished on the 29th, the whole squadron sailed on that day for Porto-Bello.

Immediately after this he returned to Europe, and was on his arrival promoted to the Weymouth of sixty guns, one of the ships which had belonged to the fleet under Sir John Norris, and was then under orders to proceed to the West Indies with Sir Chaloner Ogle. He reached the West Indies a few days before the fleet, and was, as before, employed in the most confidential services; and it is but justice due to his character to say, he acquitted himself in a manner every way meriting such a trust.

He was, as his first occupation, sent with Mr. Boscawen to the governor of Port Louis, apologizing for the fleet having anchored in that bay. Previously to the actual commencement of the siege of

Carthagena, he was employed in reconnoitring that place; a service which he executed with so much accuracy and precision, that his advice was implicitly relied on by the admiral, who formed every measure on his information. He was a second time ordered to sound the entrance of the harbour without the Tierra Bomba. Upon his report, the plan of attack was definitively settled; and it was resolved to make a general assault on the Boca Chica Castle. Captain Knowles was appointed to command the detachment of seamen who were ordered to make a diversion, or false attack, for the purpose of drawing off the attention of the enemy, and thereby facilitating the approach of General Blakeney, who commanded the real assault.

Captain Knowles observing the consternation into which the Spaniards were thrown, resolved to profit of so favourable an opportunity to distinguish himself, and attempt Fort St. Joseph, situated on a small low island almost at the entrance of the harbour. This project he executed with much resolution, and the most complete success attended it, the Spaniards after a very trivial resistance having abandoned their defences. Mr. Knowles was not satisfied with this success, while there still remained behind a possibility of effecting any thing farther. Having left Captain Cotes to take possession of the fort, he rowed off to the Gallicia of seventy guns, the Spanish admiral's ship, which he boarded without resistance, all the crew having quitted her except the captain, two or three inferior officers, and about sixty of the people.

He was again ordered on the reconnoitering service; and having discovered the Spaniards exceedingly occupied in the neighbourhood of Castillo-Grande, another of the Spanish forts, he reported that circumstance to the admiral without delay: and was in consequence ordered to weigh his anchor and run close in to the castle, which he was immediately to cannonade, to intimidate the Spaniards from re-

sistance. This had its desired effect, the castle did not return a shot, and Captain Knowles took possession of it without opposition. The fortress was mounted with about fifty pieces of heavy cannon; and the acquisition of it was of the greatest consequence to the future operations of the army, as it enabled the troops to land within a league of the town, when otherwise they would have been compelled to a long and tedious march, in one of the most inhospitable climates perhaps in the world. He was afterwards ordered to attack the batteries at Passo-Cavallos, a creek which separated the Grand Baru from the main land, and through which a considerable part of the provisions with which Carthagena was supplied, of necessity passed. This service he effected with his accustomed diligence and spirit, so that a secure place of disembarkation was procured for the army. This was the last operation in which the abilities of Mr. Knowles were capable of rendering any service, as far as related to the reduction of the place.

Captain Knowles is said, soon after the fleet returned to Jamaica, to have removed into the Litchfield, of fifty guns. This ship was one of the squadron left, under the command of Commodore Davers, for the protection of Jamaica, when Mr. Vernon sailed on his unfortunate expedition against Cuba; he was consequently preserved from the mortification of being concerned in that inglorious attempt. Success now appears to have, for a time, deserted this commander, who, however the main attack might have miscarried, had been so fortunate in those partial, and particular points of service that were immediately entrusted to him.

In the month of February, 1743, being captain of the Suffolk, of seventy guns, he was ordered, by Admiral Ogle, to take under his command the Barford, a third rate of seventy, the Assistance, Norwich, and Advice, of fifty guns each, and Scarborough of twenty; with these he was to proceed to Antigua,

where he was to be joined by the Eltham of forty, and Lively of twenty guns; with this force he was to attempt the town of La Guira, on the coast of Caraccas. His land force consisted only of four hundred men, but when, on the other hand, the strength of the squadron, which consisted of eight stout ships of war and three sloops, is considered, and it is remembered that the principal hope of success was founded on the cannon of the ships, the commodore cannot be said to have been ordered on a forlorn hope, or, to speak more intelligibly, a desperate undertaking. He was, however, completely unsuccessful: but on this we need not enlarge.

Mr. Knowles, who, on the 15th of July, 1747, had been promoted to be rear-admiral of the white, returned to Jamaica, on which station he was appointed commander-in-chief. He sailed from Port-Royal, having his flag on board the Canterbury, on the 13th of February, with eight ships of two decks and two sloops, having planned an expedition against St. Jago de Cuba. Contrary winds preventing him from making that island, he was obliged to turn his arms on Port-Louis, in Hispaniola, before which place he arrived on the 8th of March. Its strength was formidable, consisting of a large well-constructed fort, mounting seventy-eight heavy guns, and defended by six hundred men. The admiral began the attack on his arrival; and after a heavy cannonade of three hours, completely silenced the fort, which surrendered on condition that the garrison should not be made prisoners of war. It was however stipulated by the admiral, that they were not to serve either against Britain or her allies during the space of one year. This success was achieved with the loss of seventy men killed and wounded on board different ships of the squadron; and the admiral having destroyed the fortifications, resumed his former intention of attacking St. Jago de Cuba. He arrived

off that place on the 5th of April, but finding a strong boom laid across, and four vessels, filled with combustibles, moored within it, ready to be fired whenever the boom itself should be forced; it was deemed prudent to desist from any farther attempt, and the squadron returned to Jamaica.

On the 1st of October, Mr. Knowles himself fell in with the Spanish squadron, then not far distant from the Havannah. In the number of ships the squadrons were equal, but the Spaniards had a small superiority in guns, and a very considerable one in point of men; probably influenced by these considerations the admiral did not seem remarkably strenuous and eager to engage, although he possessed the advantage of the weather-gage. The squadrons having neared each other considerably, the Spaniards began to fire about two o'clock. Mr. Knowles immediately made the signal for the ships of his squadron to bear down; and in half an hour the greatest part of them were closely engaged. The two admirals were engaged with each other for the space of half an hour. Mr. Knowles having then sustained some damage, fell a-stern, and quitted the line. On the part of the enemy, the Conquestadore being much shattered, was driven out of the line, and before she could refit, was attacked by Mr. Knowles in the Cornwall, he having replaced his yard and main-top-mast which he had lost in the action with the Spanish admiral. A spirited action took place, but Don de St. Justo, her commander, being killed, and the ship reduced almost to a wreck, she surrendered to the Cornwall. The action between the remainder of the two squadrons continued till eight in the evening. The Spaniards then began to give way, retreating towards the Havannah; which port all their ships safely reached, except the Conquestadore, which was captured; and the Africa flag-ship, which being entirely dismasted was run ashore, and blown up by the Spanish admiral, in order to prevent her falling into the

hands of the English. The conduct of the different officers concerned in the foregoing encounter, as well that of the admiral himself as of his private captains, soon became a subject of violent and general dispute; each man accused the other of misconduct, and the most serious consequences attended the violence with which some of the parties defended and enforced their particular opinions. The conduct of the admiral himself became the subject of legal investigation, and the opinion of the court-martial, which we shall transcribe, may in great measure pass for that entertained by the world in general: not criminal, yet not blameless; erroneous, though perhaps accidentally so; and not charged, even by his enemies, with what constitutes the essence of all offences, a wilful neglect, or misbehaviour.

"Rear-admiral Knowles being, in the month of December, 1749, tried at Deptford, before a court-martial, for his behaviour in and relating to an action which happened on the 1st of October, in the preceding year, between a British squadron under his command, and a squadron of Spain, the court was unanimously of opinion, that the said Knowles, while he was standing for the enemy, might, by a different disposition of his squadron, have begun the attack with six ships as early in the day as four of them were engaged; and that, therefore, by his neglecting so to do, he gave the enemy a manifest advantage: that the said Knowles remained on board the ship Cornwall with his flag, after she was disabled from continuing the action, though he might, upon her being disabled, have shifted his flag on board another ship, and the court were unanimously of opinion he ought to have done so, in order to have conducted and directed, during the whole action, the motions of the squadron entrusted to his care and conduct. Upon consideration of the whole conduct of the said Knowles, relating to that action, the court did unanimously agree that he fell under part of the 14th

article of the articles of war; namely, the word negligence, and no other; and also, under the 23d article: the court, therefore, unanimously adjudged that he should be reprimanded for not bringing up the squadron in closer order than he did, and not beginning the attack with as great force as he might have done; as also for not shifting his flag upon the Cornwall's being disabled."

This error does not appear to have injured Mr. Knowles in the opinion of administration, who seem to have beheld his conduct on all occasions with a favourable and friendly eye, and he was, in the year 1752, invested with the very valuable trust of Governor of Jamaica, a station which he held till the eve of the commencement of hostilities with France; and during his absence was, in the month of February, 1755, advanced to be vice-admiral of the blue; as he was progressively to be vice-admiral of the white, and of the red not long after he reached England. In 1757, having hoisted his flag on board the Neptune, a second rate, he was appointed second in command of the armament sent out, under the chief command of Sir Edward Hawke, to attempt the destruction of Rochfort. The ill success which attended this very expensive expedition irritated the minds of the people more, perhaps, than that of any one which had preceded it, and had not been marked with a positive and extensive disaster. For an account of this, we refer to our history.

Mr. Knowles struck his flag soon after the return of the fleet into port, but re-hoisted it on the 5th of November following, on board the Royal Anne, at Spithead; he never, however, proceeded to sea, and on the 12th of December following, finally struck his flag.

On the 31st of January, 1758, he was advanced to be admiral of the blue. This promotion, is not, however, to be considered as any particular mark of distinction and favour, it being his right, according

to the regular rule of succession established in the service. Some of his subsequent honours stand not, however, in the same predicament. After the accession of King George the Third he was, on the 19th of October, 1765, created a baronet; and on the 5th of the ensuing month made rear-admiral of Great Britain, as successor to Lord Hawke, who was advanced to be vice-admiral. He held this appointment till October, 1770, when he very fairly and properly gave in his resignation, having accepted of a command under the Empress of Russia, who was at that time involved in a war with the Porte. He was about the same time advanced, in the regular course of promotion, to be admiral of the white. In the year 1774, he returned to England, peace being agreed on and concluded between the courts of Russia and Turkey. He continued afterwards to live in retirement, which his advanced age, and service in different climates, may be naturally supposed to have rendered necessary to his comfort. He died in England on the 9th of December, 1777.

FRANCIS HOLBURNE, ESQ.

ADMIRAL OF THE WHITE, &c.

Was the descendant of a respectable family in Scotland, the representative of which had been advanced to the rank of baronet, by Queen Anne, in the year 1706. Having entered into the navy, and served for some time as a lieutenant, particularly on board the Namur, to which ship he was appointed in the month of August 1732, he was, in August, 1739, advanced to be commander of the Swift sloop of war. He was from thence, in the month of January, 1740, removed into the Trial, a vessel of the same description; and was quickly afterwards, on the 15th of February ensuing, promoted to be captain of the Dolphin fri-

gate. During a part of the time Mr. Holburne held this command, he was employed to cruise in the Channel, where he had no other good fortune than that of capturing two small Spanish privateers: one called the Nuestra Senora del Carmin, mounting six carriage and four swivel guns, with a crew of forty men; the other, of six guns, and forty-four men. In 1741, he was sent on the Leith station, which being farther removed from the track of the enemy, he appears to have had still less success, no mention being made of him during the above time.

In 1742, having returned back to the Channel service, he, in the month of June, captured and carried into Plymouth a stout privateer, called the St. Juan Baptiste, of eighteen carriage and fourteen swivel guns, with a crew of upwards of one hundred men. On his quitting the Dolphin, we believe him to have been promoted, first to the Argyle, a fourth rate of fifty, and quickly afterwards to the Rippon, of sixty guns; but no mention is made, either of the station or service on which he was employed during the time he held those commands. In the month of December, 1747, he was advanced from the Rippon to the Kent, as successor to Captain Fox. In the beginning of the month of January, 1748, he sailed under Admiral Hawke for the bay, and continued to be employed on the same station and service till the conclusion of the war: but, as has been already remarked, nothing in any degree worthy relating took place during that period, except the capture of the Magnanime, in which Mr. Holburne was not personally concerned.

Soon after the ratification of the articles of peace, Mr. Holburne was made commodore, as it is said, of a small squadron ordered to the West Indies: we do not, however, believe this appointment to have been more than titular, and what is commonly bestowed on all senior captains commanding detachments. We find him sent to the West Indies about the month of

January, 1750, having under him the Rose frigate and Jamaica sloop, being dispatched thither with the orders of the king of France, transmitted through the British ambassador at Paris, to M. Caylus, governor of Martinico, commanding him immediately to evacuate the islands of St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent's, and Tobago. On Mr. Holburne's arrival at the place of his destination, he was not a little surprised at being forbid landing, but he nevertheless insisted on delivering his dispatches, which he immediately sent by his secretary, accompanied by Captain Bladwell, of the Rose frigate. The officer who received them, declared he acted only in conformity to the orders of M. Caylus, the governor, whom he represented to be in the country at a considerable distance from his usual place of residence, but that a final answer should be returned in twelve hours.

This was merely a finesse to gain time, for the governor was then actually on the spot; and, after some consultation, sent very impertinent peremptory orders for Mr. Holburne to withdraw immediately with his ships, as he had no instructions from his own court to comply with the requisition. Not having a sufficient force, or, indeed, authority to make any attempt at compelling this shuffling opponent to an act of bare national justice, he reluctantly complied. During the time he continued to be employed on that station, he could only remonstrate and represent, instead of employing the more powerful arguments which would, in all probability, have been productive of much greater success. We hear nothing of him after his return from this station, till the beginning of the year 1755. He at that time is said to have commanded the Ramillies, of ninety guns, one of the ships fitted out and collected at Portsmouth, in consequence of the behaviour of the French court, which became insufferable from the daily insults offered to the British flag. On February 5th, he was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the

blue, and immediately afterwards hoisted his flag on board the ship he had before commanded as a private captain.

He not long afterwards removed into the Terrible, on being appointed to command a squadron ordered to America for the purpose of reinforcing Mr. Boscawen. He accordingly sailed on the 11th of May, with the Terrible, Grafton, Yarmouth, Chichester, Edinburgh, Augusta, and Arundel. Nothing material took place during the voyage to Halifax, where he arrived, after a very prosperous and speedy passage, on the 28th. Having watered his squadron, and completed some requisite points of refitment, he proceeded to join Mr. Boscawen, whom he met off Louisbourg on the 21st of June. The subsequent events of this uninteresting naval campaign comprise nothing important enough to require particular mention, except that Mr. Holburne returning to England with Vice-admiral Boscawen, and the fleet, arrived safe at Spithead on the 15th of November. We do not find any mention made of him during the year 1756, except that he was, for a time, second in command of the fleet stationed off Brest, under Mr. Boscawen, to watch the French ships in that port, and was one of the members of the court-martial assembled for the trial of Admiral Byng. In the beginning of the ensuing summer, having been in the interim promoted, through the intermediate ranks, to be vice-admiral of the blue, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the fleet ordered on the expedition against Louisbourg.

He sailed from St. Helen's on the 16th of April; and, after calling at Cork for some transports which were lying there in order to join him, took his final departure from thence, with thirteen ships of the line and the convoy, on the 7th of May. Owing to the common impediments to the passage of so numerous a fleet, occasioned by contrary winds, and their natural consequences, he did not reach Halifax, in Nova

Scotia, the appointed place of rendezvous, till the 9th of July. This destructive, though perhaps unavoidable, delay following that which had taken place at home in sending out the fleet, rendered its arrival at the scene of intended operations too late to hope for much success: but it has been sarcastically remarked, that the season was not yet sufficiently advanced to preclude all hope of a fortunate issue to the expedition, and a considerable time was unnecessarily consumed at Halifax, in exercising the troops, in order to accustom them to the different manœuvres and modes of attack they might probably be required to execute, when called into actual service.

The troops were at last embarked, and ready to proceed by the 1st of August; but while the fleet was on its passage, a French packet was, as it is presumed, thrown purposely in its way, and captured. By the dispatches which were found on board her, the commanders-in-chief were informed there was a naval force, amounting to seventeen ships of the line and three frigates, in the harbour of Louisbourg; that the town was defended by a formidable land force, consisting of six thousand Europeans, three thousand colonial troops, together with three hundred Indians; that the magazines were plentifully stored with provisions and ammunition of all kinds. The receipt of this intelligence necessarily produced a council of war, in which it was almost unanimously resolved to abandon the expedition. The troops were immediately sent back; but Admiral Holburne continued cruising with the fleet off Cape Breton. On the 20th, he was off Louisbourg, and within two miles of the entrance of the harbour, so that he could distinctly see the French admiral make the signal to unmoor: but being far inferior in force, he immediately retired to Halifax, where, being reinforced by four ships of the line, he returned to his former station, in hopes of enticing the French to stand out to sea, and engage him.

The admiral was not fortunate enough to succeed; and, continuing in the same occupation, was, on the 25th of September, overtaken by a most tremendous storm or hurricane, which continued upwards of fourteen hours. When the gale commenced, the fleet were at an offing of nearly forty leagues from the shore, and when it abated, was driven within two miles of the breakers: even then, had not the wind suddenly and providentially shifted, the whole fleet would, in all probability, have been driven on shore, and totally lost. As it was, the ships were dispersed, and exceedingly shattered; the Tilbury was driven on shore and wrecked; the Grafton totally disabled, her rudder beaten off, and the ship otherwise so much damaged, that her preservation was considered as almost miraculous: several other ships were nearly wrecked, and the whole squadron so much damaged, that the admiral, with such ships as he could collect, was obliged to make for England as expeditiously as possible.

Mr. Holburne arrived at Spithead on the 7th of December, and was quickly afterwards appointed port-admiral at Portsmouth. On the 7th of February following, he was promoted to be vice-admiral of the white, and continued employed in the above uninteresting manner during the usual term for which such appointments are generally held; but is no otherwise mentioned than as having been, in the month of February 1759, advanced to be vice-admiral of the red. He struck his flag, and quitted his command on the 1st of November, 1761, and does not appear to have held any naval appointment after that time. In the first parliament assembled after the accession of his present Majesty, he was chosen representative for the united burghs of Sterling, Innerkeithing, &c. and, in the ensuing parliament, was chosen member for the town of Plymouth, a station which he continued to retain till his death. About the year 1766, he was advanced to be admiral of the blue. Honours and

appointments began not long after that time to flow rapidly in upon him. On the 24th of February, 1770, he was nominated one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral; and, on the 28th of October following, was promoted to the rank of admiral of the white. About the same time, he received the civil appointment of rear-admiral of Great Britain, as successor to Sir Charles Knowles, who had resigned a little time before, on accepting a command in the Russian service. Early in the year 1771, he was made governor of Greenwich Hospital; an honour he did not long live to enjoy, dying on the 15th of July following, at the age of sixty-seven.

The character of this gentleman has been as variously represented by his friends and enemies, as that of any of his predecessors and contemporaries. An elevated station rarely fails to give birth to controversies of this nature, and few instances occur where public opinion is not oppositely, and, generally speaking, unwarrantably divided. An anecdote of him, which has been related from the best authority, is, however, too honourable to his character, to be omitted in this place. During his passage to England from America, we believe from Louisbourg, in which, as it is well known, he encountered a most violent and tremendous tempest, he had observed a young officer particularly diligent, active, and useful on so trying an occasion; but, at the same time, had taken notice of his striking several of the common men, whom he thought slow or remiss in their duty. When the tempest had in some measure subsided, he sent for the young gentleman into his cabin, and addressed him in the following manner: "Sir, I have observed, with the greatest pleasure, your diligence and exertions; I shall, in consequence of them, use my utmost endeavours to procure your promotion; but if I ever know that you again strike a seaman, from that moment I renounce you—you will lose all pretensions to my favour and friendship."

SIR CHARLES SAUNDERS.

This brave and excellent officer, to whom fortune was particularly munificent in affording him numerous opportunities of acquiring renown, by displaying the gallantry that he naturally possessed, entered at a very early age into the naval service. After passing through the more subordinate stations, and attaining the rank of lieutenant, he was, at the particular recommendation of Mr. Anson, appointed to serve on board the Centurion in that capacity, when that ship was ordered to be equipped for the well-known expedition to the South Seas. Captain Kidd, of the Pearl frigate, dying at sea, on the last day of January, when the squadron was on its passage to Port St. Julian, Captain Cheap, of the Trial sloop, was promoted to the Wager store-ship, as successor to Captain Murray, advanced to the Pearl, and Mr. Saunders was appointed his successor by the commodore. He was at that time dangerously ill of a fever on board the Centurion; and, in consequence of the opinion of the surgeons that it would be extremely hazardous to remove him in the condition he then was, Mr. Anson gave an order to Mr. Saumarez, who had become his first lieutenant on the promotion just stated, to act as temporary commander of the sloop, till the recovery of Mr. Saunders should enable him to undertake the charge himself.

This was not long afterwards the case: and Captain Saunders had immediately to encounter the series of dangers and distresses in his passage round Cape Horn, already described.

We shall content ourselves, therefore, in this place, with briefly noticing, that before the Trial reached the Island of Juan Fernandez, she had buried nearly one half of her crew; those who still remained alive were in the most infirm and deplorable state; so that

Captain Saunders, his lieutenant, and three men, were the only persons that could be said to be capable of enduring the fatigues necessarily attendant on navigating and working the vessel. Such was their condition when they reached this uninhabited spot, where they found the commodore had arrived two days before.

The crew having, in great measure, recovered from the baneful influence of the scurvy, Captain Saunders was dispatched to Masa Fuero, a small island not far distant from Juan Fernandez, hopes being entertained that some of the missing ships of the squadron had put in there, mistaking it for the appointed place of rendezvous. The Trial having circumnavigated the whole island, and carefully examined every creek and harbour without success, returned to Juan Fernandez, where a Spanish prize, captured by the Centurion, was not long afterwards brought in. The prisoners on board this ship on seeing the Trial, knew not how sufficiently to praise and commend the indefatigable diligence, and almost incredible exertions of the English, in having, under the then existing circumstances, fatigued, dispirited, and reduced, as they were in numbers, built and completely equipped so suddenly, a vessel of her description; they, the Spaniards, not believing it possible, that such a vessel should have been capable of effecting a passage round Cape Horn, when the finest and best equipped ships in the Spanish navy had been compelled to put back.

All things being nearly ready for the final departure of the few remaining ships of this ill-fated squadron, and it being generally believed that the Spaniards, still ignorant of any of the British ships having reached the South Seas in safety, had several valuable vessels at sea, the Trial was dispatched on a cruise in the month of September; and, on the 18th, a very few days afterwards, took, after a long chace, a valuable merchant-ship, of six hundred tons bur-

then, bound from Callao to Valparaiso. As a counterbalance, however, to this good fortune, Captain Saunders had sprung one of his masts during the chace: his disasters did not end here; being soon afterwards joined by the commodore, with the Spanish prize he had himself taken previously to his quitting Juan Fernandez, the Trial sprung her remaining mast in a squall, and became so leaky as to be scarcely kept free, except by continued exertions at the pumps: it was determined, therefore, that Captain Saunders should scuttle the Trial, and remove on board his prize, which was to be commissioned as a frigate, having been not long before employed as one in the Spanish service by the viceroy.

The guns of the Trial, together with those which had belonged to the Anna Pink victualler, amounting together to twenty, were accordingly put on board; and Captain Saunders having removed his crew, together with such stores as could be got out, took rank as a post-captain by commission from the commodore, dated the 26th of September, 1741, to command this vessel, which was called, in honour to his diligence and exertions, the Trial's Prize. In the month of November 1742, which was immediately after the Centurion reached China, Captain Saunders being charged with dispatches from the commodore, took his passage to England on board a Swedish ship, in which he arrived in the Downs, after a prosperous passage, in the month of May 1743. He was not long afterwards appointed captain of the Sapphire, of forty-four guns, one of the vessels employed, during the ensuing spring, in cruising off the coast of Flanders, and in watching the port of Dunkirk. The only success that he appears to have met with while thus employed was, the capture of a galliot hoy from Dantzick, on the 7th of April, having on board nearly two hundred officers and soldiers belonging to Count Lowendahl's regiment at Dunkirk, which had been raised at the former place for the service of the

French king. He probably continued in the Sapphire till his promotion to the Sandwich, of ninety guns, which took place in the month of March 1745.

In 1746, being then engaged on a cruise, in company with, and under the orders of, Captain Cheap, in the Lark, they captured Le Fort De Nantz, a register ship from New Spain, valued at upwards of 100,000*l*. We have no subsequent information concerning him, till October 1747, when he commanded the Yarmouth, of sixty-four guns, one of the ships under the command of Rear-admiral Hawke, which totally defeated and captured nearly the whole of the French squadron, under Mons. L'Etendiere. To this very brilliant victory, Captain Saunders very eminently contributed; two of the enemy's ships, of seventy-four guns each, the Neptune and Monarque, having, as is confidently reported, struck to the Yarmouth. Though his loss in the preceding action was very considerable, amounting to nearly one hundred of his crew killed and wounded, he is said to have proposed to the Captains Saumarez and Rodney, of the Nottingham and Eagle, the former of which gentlemen had served with him in the Centurion, that they should pursue the Tonnant of eighty guns, and Intrepide of seventy-four, which were then endeavouring to make their escape. This measure appears to have been carried into execution, but its success was fatally prevented by the unfortunate death of Captain Saumarez of the Nottingham. The following account of his gallantry on this occasion is given in a letter, written by an officer belonging to the Yarmouth. It bears testimony too honourable to the character of Captain Saunders to be here omitted. "Though the Yarmouth, without dispute, had as great a share as any single ship in the fleet, if not a greater, in the engagement with the French, October 14th, yet, in all the accounts I have seen, she is not so much as mentioned, as though no such ship had been there. It is something surprising that Admiral

Hawke should see and notice in his long account, the behaviour of the Lion, Louisa, Tilbury, and Eagle, and yet could discover nothing of the extraordinary courage and conduct of Captain Saunders of the Yarmouth, who lay two hours and a half close engaged with the Neptune, a seventy gun ship, with seven hundred men, which he never quitted till she struck, although the Monarch, a seventy-four gun ship, who struck to us likewise, lay upon our bow for some time, and another of the enemy's ships upon our stern. When the Neptune struck, after killing them one hundred men, and wounding one hundred and forty, she was so close to us that our men jumped into her; and, notwithstanding such long and warm work, the ship much disabled in masts and rigging, and twenty-two men killed and seventy wounded, his courage did not cool here. He could not with patience see the French admiral and the Intrepide, a seventy-four gun ship getting away, and none of our ships after them; nor could he think of preferring his own security to the glory and interest of his country, but ardently wished to pursue them, he proposed it, therefore, to Captain Saumarez in the Nottingham, and Captain Rodney in the Eagle, who were within hail of us; but Captain Saumarez being unfortunately killed by the first fire of the enemy, the Nottingham hauled their wind and did no more service; and the Eagle never came near enough to do any; so that the Yarmouth had to deal with both of the enemy's ships for some time, till at length they got out of the reach of our guns. I think so much bravery and noble spirit ought not to lie in oblivion." Captain Saunders in the month of April 1754, was appointed treasurer of Greenwich Hospital, an office he held twelve years, and then resigned on being promoted to the very elevated station of first commissioner of the Admiralty. In the parliament which met at Westminster, May the 31st, 1754, he was elected representative for the bo-

rough of Heydon, in Yorkshire; a trust reposed in him, through the interest of his steady, constant friend, Lord Anson. In the month of March 1755, a rupture with France being then almost daily apprehended, he was appointed commander of the Prince, a new ship of ninety guns, launched a short time before, and, in the month of June, gave a very splendid entertainment to a most numerous assemblage of the first nobility in the kingdom, who repaired to Portsmouth on the anniversary of the king's accession, for the purpose of seeing the formidable fleet then collected at Spithead, dressed in the colours of different nations, as is customary on such occasions.

Mr. Saunders resigned the command of the Prince in the month of December following, on being appointed comptroller of the navy. Immediately after this promotion he was, in testimony of that universal respect in which he was held, elected one of the elder brethren of the Trinity House. His seat in parliament having become vacated by his appointment of comptroller, he was re-elected for the same borough he had before represented. In the month of June 1756, advice being received of the miscarriage of the fleet under Mr. Byng, in the Mediterranean, a special promotion of flag-officers was made, and extended purposely to Mr. Saunders, who sailed immediately afterwards with Sir Edward Hawke, as a passenger on board the Antelope, for Gibraltar, where he was to hoist his flag as rear-admiral of the blue. On the return of Sir Edward to England, in the month of January 1757, he was left commander in chief on the Mediterranean station; but no occurrence very worthy notice appears to have taken place during the time he held this very honourable appointment. Early in 1759, having been previously promoted to be vice-admiral of the blue, he was appointed commander in chief of the fleet destined for the attack of Quebec. He sailed for Louisbourg from

Spithead, on the 17th of February, having the following ships under his orders: the Neptune, ninety guns, (flag-ship); the Royal William, eighty-four; the Dublin, Shrewsbury, and Warspite, seventy-four; Orford, seventy; Alcide and Sterling Castle, sixty-four; the Lizard, of twenty; the Scorpion sloop, the Baltimore, Pelican, and Racehorse, bomb-vessels; the Cormorant, Strombolo, and Vesuvius, fire-ships. Admiral Holmes, who served under him, had sailed from Spithead with a division three days before him. Mr. Saunders was in sight of Louisbourg on the 21st of April; but that harbour being blocked up with ice, he was obliged to bear away for Halifax in Nova Scotia. As soon as the navigation was deemed sufficiently open, which was not the case till the end of May, the vice-admiral sailed with the remainder of his force, and, on the 6th of June, was off Scatari, standing in for the river St. Lawrence, from whence he sent intelligence to England of the progress he had then made.

The fleet which, when united, consisted of twenty-one ships of the line, besides frigates, smaller vessels of war and transports, did not reach the destined point of disembarkation, on the Island of Orleans, till the 26th; and on the following day the troops were landed. On the 28th the enemy made an attempt to burn the British ships, by sending down from Quebec seven fire-rafts, or vessels; but such expeditious exertions were made, that, although the fleet, together with the transports, which were numerous, and spread across the greater part of the channel, the fire-vessels were all towed clear, by the boats, without doing the smallest injury. On the 28th of July a second attempt of a similar nature was made by the enemy, who sent down a raft of fire-stages, consisting of nearly one hundred radeaux, a measure which succeeded no better than the former had done.

Immediately on the surrender of Quebec, Mr. Saunders having supplied that place with provisions

from the ships as well as circumstances would permit, sailed, on his return to England, with such part of the fleet as it was necessary for him to bring home. He had nearly reached the channel, when he is said to have been informed that the Brest squadron was at sea, and instantly took the spirited resolution of proceeding to join Sir Edward Hawke, dispatching a vessel to England with intelligence to the Admiralty of the step he had taken, and the hopes he entertained of their approval. Receiving, however, while pursuing his route, intelligence that the contest had been gloriously decided by the total defeat of the French admiral, he changed his course once more, and went ashore at Cork. He travelled by land to Dublin, where he arrived on the 15th of December. On the 26th of the same month he arrived in London, where his reception both by his sovereign and the people, was equally honourable to him. Some days previously to his arrival, he was appointed lieutenant-general of marines. On taking his seat in the House of Commons on the 23d of January, 1760, the thanks of the house were given him by the speaker. In the ensuing spring he was appointed commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, and sailed from Spithead on the 21st of May, having his flag still on board the Neptune, with the Somerset, of seventy-four guns; the Firme, of sixty; and the Preston, of fifty. He arrived at Gibraltar on the 9th of June.

No material occurrence took place during the remainder of the year, for the naval power of France was annihilated in the Mediterranean. In the new parliament, which was chosen in the beginning of 1761, but did not meet till the month of November, he was re-elected member for Heydon; and, on the 26th of May, was installed, by proxy, knight companion of the most honourable Order of the Bath. Sir Charles continued at Gibraltar till the conclusion of the war; and was, during his absence, in the

month of October 1762, advanced to be vice-admiral of the white. On the 30th of August 1765, he was appointed one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral; and, on the 16th of September 1766, being advanced to be first commissioner, was sworn in one of the members of his Majesty's most honourable privy council. In the new parliament, which met in the month of May 1768, he was again re-chosen representative for the borough of Heydon. In the month of October 1770, he was advanced to be admiral of the blue. In the new parliament convened in 1774, he was a candidate for the borough of Yarmouth, but was unsuccessful; he was, however, for the fourth time, re-elected for Heydon. He did not long survive this event, dying, at his house in Spring-gardens, of the gout in his stomach, on the 7th of December 1775. In a very few hours after his decease, Sir George Saville, and Mr. Edmund Burke, who had been his intimates, announced his death with all the affectionate honesty, impassioned warmth and effusion of private friendship, exalted, if possible, beyond itself by the bitter reflection on what might be deemed a public loss. The justice of the eulogium they severally pronounced on that melancholy occasion was unanimously confessed by all who heard it, and caused an increase of sorrow, by painting in its proper colours the extent of a national loss. His corpse was privately interred in Westminster-Abbey, on the 12th of the same month, near the monument of General Wolfe, who had been his noble associate in war, his compeer in gallantry, but, from the untimely fate of the general, not in fortune. Sir Charles died possessed of a very considerable property, the bulk of which he bequeathed to his niece; but, independently of that, left several very handsome legacies; one in particular to the late Lord Viscount Keppel, with whom he had served on board the Centurion.

PHILIP SAUMAREZ, ESQ.

This gentleman was the descendant of a very respectable family in Guernsey. He was the son of Mathew De Saumarez, Esq. and Ann Durell, his wife, a lady from Jersey, and was born on the 17th of November, 1710. We find him first mentioned in the service as one of the lieutenants of the Centurion*, under Mr. Anson, on his expedition to the South Seas. On the promotion of Mr. Saunders to be commander of the Trial sloop,† he became the first lieutenant to the commodore: and at the time that this ship was blown from her moorings off the island of Tinian, as already related, Mr. Saumarez was the commanding officer then on board. Nothing short of the most indefatigable exertions for the space of nineteen days, could have brought back that ship to her former station, considering the weakness of her crew, for, notwithstanding their number little exceeded a hundred persons, many of the people were, as a still farther increase of their difficulties, in a very weak though convalescent state.

The capture of the Caba-Donga, better or more generally known as the Manilla galleon, is well known to our readers. Mr. Saumarez, who had acted with the greatest activity and spirit during the action, was appointed commander of the prize, by Mr. Anson; from the date of which commission, on the 21st of June, 1743, he took rank as a captain in the navy. The prize having been disposed of by the commodore

* At which time he was thirty years old, and had served in the royal navy upwards of fourteen years.

† Which vessel he himself acted as commander of, *pro tempore*, during the illness of Captain Saunders.

to the Chinese merchants, Mr. Saumarez returned to England in a private capacity. His first appointment after his arrival was to the Sandwich, a second rate; in which he had no opportunity of displaying that gallant spirit which was inherent in him, and which at last, most unfortunately for his country and his friends, produced his very untimely death.

Early in the month of October 1746, he was made captain of the Nottingham, a ship of sixty guns, as successor to Lord Graham; and being ordered out on a cruise, fell in with, on the 11th, a French ship of war, called the Mars, mounting sixty-four guns, the lower tier of which were brass. It is thus mentioned in the Gazette:

"*Plymouth, October* 21*st.*

"His Majesty's ship the Nottingham has brought in hither the Mars, a French man of war, of sixty-four guns and five hundred and fifty men, which she met with off Cape Clear, and took after an engagement of two hours, wherein the Nottingham lost but three or four men, the Mars forty."

In the early part of the year ensuing, he continued under the command of Mr. Anson, and was present with him at the encounter with the French squadron under Jonquiere. Having received a slight injury in the preceding action, he was one of the three commanders dispatched in the evening, in pursuit of the convoy, which was then four or five leagues distant. Such were the diligence and activity of Mr. Saumarez and his companions, that the Modeste and Vigilant, mounting twenty-two guns each, and six prizes of inferior consequence, were captured by them on the following day.

We now come to the last occurrence which graces the life of this brave man. The Nottingham was one of the ships composing the squadron sent out under Rear-admiral Hawke, in the month of August,

to cruise for the French squadron then fitting for sea, to be commanded by Monsieur L'Etendiere. After an interval of two months, the enemy, who had for some time delayed their departure, were discovered to the westward of Cape Finisterre. In the action which took place, Mr. Saumarez bore a very conspicuous share; and eager in the pursuit of the Intrepide and Tonnant, which were endeavouring to make their escape under the cover of the night, he came up with them about eight o'clock in the evening. After having engaged them some time, he was unfortunately killed, an accident which terminated an unsuccessful though glorious contest.

Captain Saumarez was in the 37th year of his age. His body being brought to England, was interred in the old church at Plymouth, and a neat monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey, by his surviving brothers and sisters.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Naval History of Great Britain from the Year 1774 *to the Year* 1779.

IT has been already observed, that although the ministry had given way to the refractory spirit of the colonies in many other instances, yet the odious and ill-judged tax on tea imported into America was still supported by the force of an act of parliament. This regulation, which had been much objected to at home, was universally obnoxious on the other side of the Atlantic. The Americans foresaw, that if the tea was once landed, and in the hands of consignees appointed by the East India Company, which had lately fallen under the direction of government, it would be impossible to prevent its sale and consumption: and they therefore considered the duty on this commodity as a measure calculated to deceive them into a general compliance with the revenue laws, and thereby to open a door to unlimited taxation. Besides, all the dealers both legal and clandestine, who, as tea is an article of such general consumption in America, were extremely powerful, saw their trade at once taken out of their hands. Views of private interest thus conspiring with motives of public zeal, the spirit of opposition universally diffused itself throughout the colonies, who determined to prevent the landing of the tea by every means in their power.

Meanwhile the tea ships had sailed from England, October, 1773, with the following destinations: for Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, three ships, each loaded with six hundred chests of tea; for Charlestown and Rhode-Island, two ships, loaded

with two hundred chests each; the whole amounting to two thousand two hundred chests. As the time of this arrival approached, the people assembled in different places in great bodies in order to concert measures for preventing this dangerous importation. The consignees appointed for vending the tea by the East India Company, were compelled, in most places, at the risk of their lives and properties, to relinquish their employments. Committees were appointed by the people to propose tests, and to punish those who refused subscribing whatever was proposed, as enemies to their country. In the tumultuary assemblies held on these occasions innumerable resolutions were passed derogatory to the legislative power of Great Britain. Inflammatory hand-bills and other seditious papers were published at New York, Charlestown, and Philadelphia; but Boston, which had so long taken the lead in rebellion, was the scene of the first outrage. The ships laden with tea having arrived in that port, were boarded (18th December, 1773) by a number of armed men, under the disguise of Mohawk Indians, who in a few hours discharged the valuable cargoes into the sea. Charlestown in South Carolina followed this pernicious example. At New York alone the tea was landed under the cannon of a man of war.

When the American dispatches arrived, March 7, 1774, and brought advice of the outrages committed against the tea-ships at Boston, his Majesty sent a message to both houses, in which they are informed, that in consequence of the unwarrantable practices carried on in North America, and particularly of the violent proceedings at the town and port of Boston, with a view of obstructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately subversive of its constitution, it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before parliament; that they may enable his Majesty to take such measures as may be most likely to put an immediate stop to those

disorders, and consider what farther regulations may be necessary for securing the execution of the laws, and the just dependence of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain. The minister who delivered this message allowed, that the destruction of the tea at Boston might have been prevented by calling in the assistance of the naval force which lay in the harbour; but as the leading men in that city had always made great complaints of the interposition of the army and navy, and charged all disturbances of every sort to their account, this assistance had with great prudence been declined; the Bostonians were left to the free exercise of their own judgment, and the result had given the lie to all their former professions.

The message and declaration seemed to be at variance with each other. In the former his Majesty desires the parliament to impower him to stop the course of disorders, which the minister allows might have been prevented by the exertion of that force with which he was already intrusted. But it seems that government had not as yet been sufficiently persuaded of the evil intentions of the inhabitants of Boston, and wished to give them a farther opportunity of displaying the most extensive depravity of their political characters. This being now evident to every unprejudiced mind, the minister opened his plan for the restoration of peace, order, justice, and commerce in the Massachuset's Bay. He stated that the opposition to the authority of parliament had always originated in that colony, which had been instigated to a rebellious conduct by the irregular and seditious proceedings of the town of Boston. That therefore, for the purpose of a thorough reformation, it became necessary to begin with that town, which by a late unparalleled outrage had led the way to the destruction of commerce in all parts of America. That, had such an insult been offered to British property in a foreign port, the nation would have been intitled to

demand satisfaction. He proposed, therefore, that the town of Boston should be obliged to pay for the tea which had been destroyed, and to give security in future that trade may be safely carried on, property protected, laws obeyed, and duties regularly paid. For this purpose, he said, it would be necessary to take away from Boston the privilege of a port until his Majesty should be satisfied in these particulars. Upon these arguments leave was given to bring in a bill (March 14th] " for the immediate removal of the officers concerned in collecting the customs from the town of Boston in the province of the Massachuset's Bay in North America, and to discontinue the landing and discharging, lading and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandise at the said town of Boston, or within the harbour thereof." This bill passed in the House of Commons the 25th of March; and, after being carried up to the lords, received the royal assent the 31st of March.

This law forms the æra at which has been dated the decisive resolution of parliament to proceed to extremities with the province of Massachuset's Bay. Besides the ships of war already in America, the Preston, Admiral Graves, with the Royal Oak, Worcester, and Egmont, were ordered to repair with all convenient speed to Boston. But at the same time that these resolutions were taken, General Gage was appointed governor of the obnoxious colony, a gentleman who had long resided there, and was well acquainted with the inhabitants, with whom he had formed the most intimate connections. This to many afforded a proof that the ministry had fallen back into their former irresolution; and the Bostonians threatened on the one hand with an act which deprived them of their ordinary means of subsistence, and soothed on the other by the appointment of a governor most agreeable to their wishes, maintained their wonted spirit, and continued to defy the equivocal, temporizing timidity of the mother country.

They ventured to hold a town-meeting, at which they resolved to invite the other colonies to stop all imports and exports to and from Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, until the Boston port bill should be repealed. They artfully connected the safety of the liberties of North America with the punishment of one rebellious city, and, expatiating on the injustice and cruelty of the odious bill, appealed from it to God and the world. The governor arrived the middle of May, and was received at Boston with the usual honours. He laid nothing before the provincial assembly but what the ordinary business required; but gave them notice of their removal to the town of Salem on the first of June, in pursuance of the late act of parliament.

Meanwhile the Boston port bill, as well as the resolutions taken at the town-meeting, were dispatched to every part of the continent. These, like the Fury's torch, set the countries every where in a flame through which they passed. At New York the populace had copies of the bill printed upon mourning paper, which they cried about the streets under the title of a barbarous, cruel, bloody, and inhuman murder. The house of burgesses in Virginia appointed the first of June, the day on which the Boston bill was to have effect, to be set apart for fasting, prayer, and humiliation; an example which was followed by almost every province of North America. Even the inhabitants of Salem who derived evident advantage from the degradation of a neighbouring town, declared that they must be dead to every idea of justice, and lost to all the feelings of humanity, if they could indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise their fortunes on the ruins of their suffering neighbours.

Thus the Boston port bill, unassisted by these active exertions of the military or naval power of Great Britain which might have rendered it an object of terror, raised a flame from one end to the other of the continent of America, and united all the old colonies

in one common cause. They all agreed in determining not to submit to the payment of any internal taxes that were not imposed by their own assemblies, and to suspend all commerce with the mother country, until the American grievances in general, and those in Massachuset's Bay in particular, were fully redressed. Nor were they less unanimous in entering into a general agreement, which was formed at Boston under the name of a solemn league and covenant for mutually supporting each other, and maintaining what they deemed the rights of freemen, inviolate. They soon after appointed deputies from each province to attend a General Congress, which should contain the united voice and wisdom of America, and which they agreed should be held at Philadelphia the 5th of September, 1774. Among the first acts of this assembly was a declaration in which they acknowledge their dependence, but insist on their privileges. They chearfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British legislature as are confined to the regulation of their external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country: but they insist, that the foundation of the English constitution and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council, and as the colonies are not, and from various causes cannot be represented in the British parliament, they are intitled to a free and exclusive legislation in their several provincial assemblies, in all cases of taxation and internal policy. They recommend to the several provinces the continuance of the measures which they had already adopted, for establishing a powerful national militia, and for raising money to pay those brave troops who would at every hazard defend the privileges of America.

The General Congress gave a consistence to the designs of twelve colonies differing in religion, manners, and forms of government, and infected with all the

local prejudices and aversions incident to neighbouring states. The strength which all derived from this formidable union might have been sufficient to alarm Great Britain; but the ministry, instead of fleets and armies, continued still to fight the Americans with acts of parliament. For this purpose the first lord of the treasury moved, 10th February, 1775, for leave to bring in a bill to restore the trade and commerce of the province of Massachuset's Bay and New Hampshire, as well as of the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island; and to prohibit these provinces from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, and other places therein mentioned. Upon the third reading of this bill a motion was made for an amendment, that the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, should be included in the same restrictions with the New England provinces. This amendment, however, was over-ruled; although it could hardly be denied that these provinces had rendered themselves equally culpable with those of New England. Nearly about the same time, parliament voted an augmentation of four thousand three hundred and eighty-three soldiers, and two thousand seamen; and it was intended that the troops at Boston should amount to full ten thousand, a number deemed more than sufficient for quelling the present disturbance. While the nation seemed in general heartily to concur in those vigorous measures, they were not a little astonished at the famous conciliatory motion made by Lord North, containing the following resolution: "That when the governor, council and assembly of any colony should be willing to contribute their proportion to the common defence, and for the support of the civil government, such proportion to be raised under the authority of the assembly of that province, it will be proper to forbear imposing or levying any tax, duty or assessment from the said province, excepting only such duties as it may be expedient to impose

for the regulation of commerce." This proposition was considered by many of those who supported the general measures of government, as a dereliction of those rights which they had hitherto contended to be essential to the British legislature; while the opposition asserted, that it would be received with the same indignation by the Americans, as every other measure intended to disunite their interests.

This law which occasioned great discontents in England, met with not the smallest regard in America. While the parliament were employed in enacting it, the ill-humour that prevailed among the troops and inhabitants at Boston, broke out into action. It is still, perhaps, undecided which party commenced hostilities; but the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord, proved the bravery of the Provincials to be far superior to the ideas generally entertained of it. The blood shed on these occasions excited the greatest indignation in the other colonies, and they prepared for war with as much eagerness and dispatch, as if an enemy had already appeared in their own territories. In some places the magazines were seized, in others the treasury, and without waiting for any account or advice, a stop was almost every where put at the same time to the exportation of provisions. The governor and forces at Boston, as well as the inhabitants, continued closely blocked up by land; while they were excluded from all supplies of fresh provisions, which the neighbouring countries could have afforded them by sea. As the military stores began to be exhausted without the possibility of receiving any speedy supply, the governor thought proper to enter into a capitulation with the Bostonians, by which, upon condition of delivering up their arms, they were allowed to depart with all their other effects. Though all the poor and helpless were sent out, and many others obtained passports both then, and at different times afterwards, yet the greater part of the inhabitants were upon different grounds obliged to re-

main in the city, which breach of faith, as the Americans termed it on the part of General Gage, is described with great indignation in all their subsequent publications.

The Continental Congress, met at Philadelphia May 10, 1775, and adopted such measures as confirmed the people in their warlike resolutions. They provided for the array and support of an army, named generals, established a paper currency, for the realizing the value of which the "Twelve United Colonies" became securities; soon after Georgia acceded to the Congress, from which time they were distinguished by the name of the "Thirteen United Colonies." It was said, that in the whole extent of North America, from Nova Scotia to Florida, nearly two hundred thousand men were training to arms under the auspices of the Congress. This assembly took measures not only for defending themselves, but for distressing their enemies. They strictly prohibited the supplying of the British fisheries with any kind of provision; and to render this order effectual, stopt all exportation to those colonies and islands which still retained their obedience. This prohibition occasioned no small distress to the people at Newfoundland, and to all those employed in the fisheries; insomuch, that, to prevent an absolute famine, several ships were under a necessity of returning light from that station, to carry out cargoes of provisions from Ireland.

In the mean time, several private persons, belonging to the back parts of Connecticut, Massachuset's, and New York, without any public command, or participation that has hitherto been discovered, undertook an expedition of the utmost importance, and which threatened to deprive Great Britain of every single possession which she held in North America. This was the surprise of Ticonderago, Crown-Point and other fortresses, situated upon the lakes, and commanding the passes between the ancient English colo-

nies and Canada. These adventurers, amounting in the whole to about two hundred and forty men, seized Ticonderago and Crown Point, in which they found above two hundred pieces of cannon, besides mortars, howitzers, and large quantities of various stores; they also took two vessels, which gave them the command of Lake Champlain, and materials ready prepared at Ticonderago for the equipping of others.

Although the troops at Boston were greatly reinforced by the arrival of the Generals Howe, Burgoyne and Clinton, a considerable body of marines, and several regiments from Ireland, they continued patiently to submit to all the inconveniencies of a blockade; nor did they receive any considerable assistance from the great number of ships of war which almost surrounded the peninsula. The Congress published a resolution, June 8th, importing the compact between the crown and the people of Massachuset's Bay, to be dissolved. This was followed by a proclamation of General Gage, June 12th, by which a pardon was offered in the king's name, to all those who should forthwith lay down their arms, and punishment denounced against those who obstinately persisted in disobedience. They were to be treated as rebels and traitors; and as the regular course of justice was stopped, martial law was to take place, until the rules of civil equity were restored to their due efficacy.

The Provincials, considering this proclamation as an immediate prelude to hostility, determined to be before-hand with their enemies. Having made the necessary preparations for seizing the port of Charlestown, they sent a number of men with the greatest privacy in the night, to throw up works upon Bunker's Hill. This was effected with such extraordinary order and silence, and such incredible dispatch, that none of the ships of war, which covered the shore, heard the noise of the workmen, who by the morning had made a small but strong redoubt, considerable entrenchments, and a breast work, that was

in some parts cannon proof. The sight of these works, was the first thing that alarmed the Lively man of war, and her guns called the town, camp, and fleet to behold a sight, which seemed little less than a prodigy. A heavy and continual fire of cannon, howitzers and mortars, was from this time carried on against the works, from the ship and floating batteries, as well as from the top of Cop's Hill in Boston. About noon, General Gage caused a considerable body of troops to be embarked under the command of Major-general Howe, and Brigadier-general Pigot, to drive the Provincials from their works. These troops, consisting of ten companies of grenadiers, as many of light infantry, and the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d battalions, with a proper train of artillery, were landed and drawn up without opposition, under the fire of the ships of war. The two generals found the enemy so numerous, and in such a posture of defence, that they thought it necessary to send back for a reinforcement before they commenced the attack; they were accordingly joined by two companies of light infantry and grenadiers, by the 47th regiment, and by the first battalion of marines, amounting in the whole, to something more than two thousand men.

The attack began, by a most severe fire of cannon and howitzers, under which the troops advanced slowly towards the enemy, to afford an opportunity to the artillery to ruin the works, and to throw the Provincials into confusion. These, however, sustained the assault with a firmness that would have done honour to regular troops, and detached a body of men to Charlestown which covered their right flank. General Pigot, who commanded the right wing, was thus obliged to engage at the same time with the lines and with those in the houses. During this conflict, Charlestown was set on fire: whether by the troops, or by carcasses thrown from the ships, is uncertain, but that large and beautiful town, which, being the

first settlement in the colony, was considered as the mother of Boston, was in one day burnt to the ground.

The Provincials did not return a shot until the king's forces had approached almost to the works, where a most dreadful fire took place, by which above a thousand of our bravest men and officers fell. In this action, one of the hottest ever known, considering the number engaged, our troops were thrown into some disorder: but in this critical moment, General Clinton, who arrived from Boston during the engagement, rallied them by a happy manœuvre, and brought them instantaneously to the charge. They attacked the works with fixed bayonets, and irresistible bravery, and carried them in every quarter. The Provincials fought desperately, but being, as they affirm, destitute of bayonets, and their powder expended, they were obliged to retreat over Charlestown neck, which was enfiladed by the guns of the Glasgow man of war, and of two floating batteries. The king's troops took five pieces of cannon, but no prisoners except thirty, who were so severely wounded that they could not escape.

The possession of part of the peninsula of Charlestown, and of Bunker's Hill, which was immediately fortified, enlarged the quarters of the troops, who had been much incommoded by the straightness in which they were confined in Boston; but this advantage was counterbalanced by the great additional duty which they were now obliged to perform. Besides, the Provincials lost no time in throwing up works upon another hill opposite to Bunker's, on the side of Charlestown neck, which was still in their possession. The troops were thus as closely invested in this peninsula as they had been in Boston. Their situation was irksome and degrading, being surrounded and insulted by an enemy whom they had been taught to despise, and cut off from all those refreshments of which they stood in the greatest need.

The resentment occasioned by their sufferings probably engaged them to continue a great cannonade upon the works of the Provincials, which could have little other effect than to inure them to that sort of service in which they were employed. A regiment of light cavalry which arrived from Ireland, increased the wants of the garrison, without being of the smallest use, as the cavalry were never able to set foot without the fortifications. The hay which grew upon the islands in the bay, as well as the sheep and cattle which they contained, became an object of great attention to the king's troops; but the Provincials having prepared a number of whaling boats, and being masters of the shore and inlets of the bay, were, notwithstanding the number of the ships of war and armed vessels, too successful in burning, destroying, and carrying away, those essential articles of supply. These enterprises brought on several skirmishes, and the enemy grew at length so daring, that they burnt the light house situated on an island at the entrance of the harbour, though a man of war lay within a mile of them at the time; and some carpenters being afterwards sent, under the protection of a small party of marines, to erect a temporary light house, they killed or carried off the whole detachment. From this time a sort of predatory war commenced between the king's ships and the inhabitants on different parts of the coast. The former, being refused the supplies of provisions and necessaries which they wanted for themselves or the army, endeavoured to obtain them by force, and in these attempts were frequently opposed, and sometimes repulsed with loss by the country people. The seizing of ships, in conformity to the new laws for restraining the commerce of the New England provinces, was also a continual source of animosity and violence, the proprietors hazarding all dangers in defending or recovering their vessels. These contests drew the vengeance of the men of war upon several of the small

towns upon the sea coasts, some of which underwent a severe chastisement.

The parliament, which met in October, 1775, seemed more firmly determined than on any former occasion, to pursue what were called vigorous measures by the majority, and which the opposition distinguished by the epithets of cruel, bloody, and unjust. The American petitions addressed to the crown were rejected with contempt or indignation; and it was determined to carry on the war with a spirit that should astonish all Europe, and to employ such fleets and armies in the ensuing year as had never before entered the new world. A motion was made from the Admiralty, in the committee of supply, that twenty-eight thousand seamen, including six thousand six hundred and sixty-five marines, should be voted for the service of the year 1776. This was accompanied with a general outline of the services to which the navy should be applied; particularly, that the fleet on the North American station should amount to seventy-eight sail. This would doubtless employ the greatest part of the seamen proposed; and happily the affairs of Europe did not require any considerable exertion of our naval strength. The professions of the neighbouring courts were pacific and friendly; and what was of more weight than professions, their preparations were nowise alarming. At any rate, our guardships were so numerous and so well appointed, that they might on the shortest notice be rendered superior to any force that our rivals could assemble. The motion for the augmentation was passed; though not without severe animadversion from the most distinguished of our naval commanders, who arraigned, in the plainest terms, the present government and conduct of our naval affairs, and insisted that the establishment now proposed, though too great for peace, was by no means adequate to the demands of a war.

On the day following, 8th November, the minis-

ter of the war department, having laid the estimates for the land service before the committee of supply, shewed that our whole military force would amount to fifty-five thousand men, of which upwards of twenty-five thousand would be employed in America. On this occasion also many gentlemen affirmed, that the proposed force was totally unequal to the purpose of conquering America by force of arms, the measure upon which the ministry seemed now absolutely determined. This was supported by the opinion of a great general officer, who had been long in administration; the other military gentlemen were called upon to declare their dissent if they thought otherwise, but they all continued silent.

A few days afterwards, the first lord of the treasury brought in the famous prohibitory bill, totally interdicting all trade and intercourse with the Thirteen United Colonies. All property of Americans, whether of ships or goods, on the high seas or in harbour, are declared forfeited to the captors, being the officers and crews of his Majesty's ships of war; and several clauses were inserted in the bill to facilitate and lessen the expence of the condemning of prizes, and the recovery of prize money. But, in order to soften these harsh measures, the bill enabled the crown to appoint commissioners, who, besides the power of granting pardons to individuals, were authorized to enquire into general grievances, and empowered to determine whether any part, or the whole of a colony, were returned to that state of obedience which entitled them to be received within the king's peace and protection, in which case the restrictions of the present bill were to cease in their favour.

After all the boasted preparations for hostility, the seeming contradiction in this bill, was thought by many to support the consistent character of administration. It was still the same alternative of war and peace; peace offered by Great Britain who had received the injury, and not by her enemies, on whom

she pretended to be ready to wreak the whole weight of her vengeance. This mixed system of war and conciliation was represented as highly improper at the present juncture. The measure adopted, whether of peace or war, should be clear, simple, and decided, not involved in doubt, perplexity, and darkness. If war is resolved, and it is determined to compel America to submission, let the means of coercion be such as will, to a moral certainty, insure success. Our fleets and armies must command terms, which will in vain be solicited by our commissioners.

While these preparations and debates occupied the British senate, the designs of the Americans gradually became more daring. Their successful expedition to the lakes, with the reduction of Ticonderago and Crown Point, had opened the gates of Canada: and the Congress came to the bold resolution of sending a force to invade and conquer that loyal colony. The Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, with two regiments of New York militia, a body of New England men, amounting in the whole to three thousand, were appointed to this service. A number of batteaux, or flat boats, were built at Ticonderago, and Crown Point, to convey the forces along Lake Champlain, to the river Sorel, which forms the entrance into Canada. Having proceeded to the Isle Aux Noix, they proposed to attack the fort St. John's, in which they were retarded by a want of ammunition sufficient for carrying on the siege. Their commander, Montgomery, who was well qualified for any military service, turned his thoughts to the reduction of the little Fort Chamblee, which lies farther up the country, and was in a very defensible condition. Here he found considerable stores, and one hundred and twenty barrels of powder, which enabled him to push with vigour the siege of St. John's. General Carleton, the governor of the province then at Montreal, was equally indefatigable in his endeavours to raise a force sufficient for its relief. With the utmost difficulty he

had got together about a thousand men, composed principally of Canadians, with a few regulars, and some English officers and volunteers. With these he intended a junction with Colonel M'Lean, who had raised a regiment under the name of Royal Highland Emigrants, consisting of the native mountaineers of Scotland, who had lately arrived in America, and who, in consequence of the troubles, had not obtained settlements. But the designs of General Carleton were defeated by a party of Provincials, who encountered him at Longueil, and easily repulsed the Canadians. Another party pushed M'Lean towards the mouth of the Sorel, where the Canadians, by whom he was attended, hearing of the general's defeat, immediately abandoned him to a man, and he was compelled, at the head of his few Scots emigrants, to take refuge in Quebec. Meanwhile Montgomery obtained possession of St. John's, 3d November, 1775, where he found a considerable quantity of artillery, and many useful stores; the garrison, commanded by Major Preston, surrendered prisoners of war, and were sent up the lakes to those interior parts of the colonies, which were best adapted to provide for their reception and security.

Upon M'Lean's retreat to Quebec, the party who had reduced him to that necessity, immediately erected batteries near the junction of the St. Lawrence and the Sorel, in order to prevent the escape of the armed vessels, which General Carleton had at Montreal, to the defence of Quebec. Montgomery meanwhile laid siege to Montreal, of which he got possession the 13th November; and Carleton's armament being pursued, attacked and driven from their anchors up the river by the Provincials, he himself narrowly escaped in a dark night, in a boat with muffled paddles, and after many dangers, arrived at Quebec. His naval force, consisting of eleven armed vessels, fell into the hands of the Provincials.

The city of Quebec was, at this time, in a state of

great weakness, as well as internal discontent and disorder. Besides this, Colonel Arnold appeared unexpectedly with a body of New Englanders at Point Levi, opposite to the town. The river fortunately separated them from the place, otherwise it seems probable that they might have become masters of it in the first surprise and confusion. Several days elapsed before they effected a passage in boats furnished them by the Canadians, notwithstanding the vigilance of the English frigates in the river. The inhabitants of Quebec, however, had by this time leisure to unite for defending their city. When Montgomery, therefore, who with the utmost expedition had pushed forward to join Arnold, attempted on the 31st of December to carry the place by escalade, he met with the most vigorous and unexpected resistance. He himself was slain, Arnold wounded, and a considerable body of the Provincials taken prisoners of war. The remainder did not again venture on any similar attack, but were satisfied with converting the siege into a blockade, and found means effectually to prevent any supplies of provisions or necessaries from being carried into Quebec.

While the Provincials obtained these important advantages in Canada, the Virginians obliged their governor, Lord Dunmore, to provide for his safety by embarking on board the Fowey man of war. All connection between Great Britain and that colony was dissolved July 18th. The governor in vain emancipated the slaves, a measure which he had so often threatened, that its execution was rendered ineffectual. He determined, however, to do every thing in his power to regain possession of some part of the country which he had governed. Being joined by such persons as were obnoxious on account of their loyalty, and supported by the frigates on the station, he endeavoured to establish such a marine force as might enable him, by means of the noble rivers, which render the most valuable parts of Vir-

ginia accessible by water, to be always at hand, and to profit by every favourable occasion that offered. But his spirited endeavours to redeem the colony, were attended only with disappointment; and his armament, too feeble for any essential service, was distinguished barely by acts of depredation. The unfortunate town of Norfolk, having refused to supply his Majesty's ships with provisions, was attacked by a violent cannonade from the Liverpool frigate, three sloops of war, and the governor's armed ship the Dunmore; and the 1st of January was signalized with burning it to the ground. In South Carolina, Lord William Campbell, the governor, after less vigorous exertions, was obliged to retire from Charlestown, on board a ship of war in the river; and Governor Martin, of North Carolina, saved himself by the same expedient. The fleet of England served as a peaceable asylum to the expelled magistrates of revolting provinces, while its army was ingloriously cooped up in Quebec and Boston.

The Provincials were not less active in the cabinet than in the field. November 13, 1775, the inhabitants of Massachuset's Bay published letters of marque and reprisal, and established courts of Admiralty for trying and condemning British ships. The General Congress, (December the 6th), having previously agreed on articles of confederation and perpetual union, answered with much acrimony the royal proclamation of August 23d, for suppressing rebellion and sedition, and declared, that whatever punishment should be inflicted upon any persons in the power of their enemies, for defending the cause of America, the same should be retaliated on the British subjects who fell into their hands.

In this state of obstinacy or firmness, on the side of the Americans, the distressed army at Boston looked with impatience towards these kingdoms, for the arrival of the expected reinforcements. The delays and misfortunes which the transports experi-

enced in their voyage, and the sight of many vessels laden with the necessaries and comforts of life taken in the harbour, heightened the mortification and sufferings of those brave troops, who were kept, by the severity of the season, and the strength of the enemy, in a total inaction during the whole winter. The American cruizers and privateers, though yet poor and contemptible, being for the greater part no better than whale-boats, grew daily more numerous and successful against the victuallers and store-ships; and, among a multitude of other prizes, took an ordnance ship from Woolwich, containing a large mortar upon a new construction, several pieces of fine brass cannon, a great number of small arms, with abundance of ammunition, and all manner of tools, utensils, and machines necessary for camps and sieges. This important prize, which gave a new colour to the military operations of the Provincials, was taken by a small privateer, which excited just indignation against the management of our naval affairs, for hazarding a cargo of such value in a defenceless vessel.

When news of the prohibition act reached the Congress, they sent orders to General Washington to bring affairs at Boston to as speedy a decision as possible, in order to disengage his army, and to give them an opportunity to oppose the new dangers with which they were threatened. Washington, therefore, opened a new battery, at a place called Phipp's Farm, on the night of the 2d of March, from whence a severe cannonade and bombardment was carried on against the town. This attack was continued till the 5th, when the army, to their incredible surprise, beheld some considerable works upon the heights of Dorchester Point, from which a twenty-four pound and a bomb battery were soon after opened. The situation of the king's troops was now extremely critical, it being necessary either to abandon the town, which began to blaze on every side, or to dislodge

the enemy, and destroy the new works. The latter, however, General Howe, who had succeeded General Gage in the command, judged to be impracticable, so that nothing remained but to abandon Boston, and to convey the troops, artillery, and stores, on board the ships. The embarkation rather resembled the emigration of a nation, than the breaking up of a camp; one thousand five hundred of the inhabitants, whose attachment to the royal cause had rendered them obnoxious to their countrymen, encumbered the transports with their families and effects. This inconvenience, joined to scarcity of provisions and ill success, bred much discontent. The troops considered themselves as abandoned, having received no advices from England since the preceding October. Mutual jealousies prevailed between the army and navy; each attributing to the other, part of the uneasiness which itself felt. The intended voyage to Halifax, at all times dangerous, was dreadfully so at this tempestuous equinoctial season, and the multitude of ships, which amounted to one hundred and fifty sail, increased the difficulty and apprehension. At the same time the king's forces were under the necessity of leaving a considerable quantity of artillery and stores behind. The cannon upon Bunker's Hill, and at Boston Neck, could not be carried off. Attempts were made to render them unserviceable; but the hurry which then prevailed, prevented them from having any great effect. Some mortars and pieces of cannon which were thrown into the water, were afterwards weighed up by the inhabitants of Boston; who, on the 17th of March, received General Washington's army with drums beating, colours flying, and all the splendour of military triumph.

It was above a week after this time, before the weather permitted the fleet to get entirely clear of the harbour and road; but this delay was amply compensated by the voyage to Halifax, which was shorter and more successful than could have been expected.

Several ships of war were left behind to protect the vessels which should arrive from England; but the great extent of the bay, with its numerous islands and creeks, allowed such advantages to the provincial armed boats and privateers, that they took a great many of those vessels, which were still in ignorance that the town had changed masters.

On the side of Canada, General Carleton conducted his operations with more success. All the attempts of the Provincials to take Quebec by storm, were rendered abortive; nor did they succeed better in endeavouring by fire-ships and otherways to burn the vessels in the harbour. Such was the constancy and vigilance of Governor Carleton, Brigadier M'Lean, and the activity of the garrison, that the Americans intended to raise the siege, which was prevented from being carried successfully into execution by the spirit and vigour of the officers and crews of the Isis man of war and two frigates, which were the first that had sailed from England with succours, and which having forced their way through the ice, arrived at Quebec before the passage was deemed practicable. The unexpected appearance of the ships threw the besiegers into the utmost consternation, and the command which they obtained of the river cut off all communication between the different detachments of the enemy. General Carleton lost no time in seizing the advantages which the present situation afforded. May 6th, he marched out at the head of the garrison, and attacked the rebel camp which he found in the utmost confusion. Upon the appearance of our troops, they fled on all sides, abandoning their artillery, military stores, and all their implements for carrying on the siege. During this transaction, our smaller ships of war proceeded up the river with great expedition, and took several small vessels belonging to the enemy, as well as the Gaspee sloop of war, which had a few months before unfortunately fallen into their hands.

The success at Quebec tended greatly to facilitate the reconquest of Canada, and the invasion of the back part of the colonies by the way of the lakes, which was the first of the three principal objects proposed in the conduct of the British forces in the ensuing campaign. The second was, the making a strong impression on the southern colonies, which it was hoped would at least have been attended with the recovery of one of them. The third was the grand expedition against the city and province of New York.

It had for some time been the fate of the fleets, transports, and victuallers, which sailed from England to meet with such difficulties, delays, and so many untoward circumstances, as in a great degree frustrated the end of their destination. Sir Peter Parker's squadron, which sailed from Portsmouth at the close of the year, did not arrive at Cape Fear till the beginning of May, where they were detained by various causes till the end of the month. There they found General Clinton, who had already been at New York, and from thence proceeded to Virginia, where he had seen Lord Dunmore, and, finding that no service could be effected at either place with his small force, came thither to wait for them. After this junction, the fleet and army were both sufficiently powerful to attempt some enterprise of importance. Charlestown, in South Carolina, was the place destined for their attack. The fleet anchored off the bar the beginning of June; but, the passing this obstacle was a matter of no small difficulty, especially to the two large ships, which, notwithstanding the taking out of their guns, and the using every other means to lighten them as much as possible, both struck the ground. When this difficulty was overcome, our fleet attacked a fort lately erected upon the south-west point of Sullivan's Island, and commanding the passage to Charlestown. The troops commanded by General Clinton, Lord Cornwallis,

and Brigadier general Vaughan, were landed on Long Island, which lies to the eastward of Sullivan's. The Carolinians had posted some forces with artillery at the north-eastern extremity of the latter, at the distance of two miles from the fort, where they threw up works to prevent the passage of the royal army over the breach. General Lee was encamped with a large body of troops on the continent, at the back and to the northward of the island, with which he held a communication open by a bridge of boats, and could by that means, at any time, march the whole, or any part of his force, to support the post opposed to our passage from Long Island. This island is a naked burning sand, where the troops suffered much from their exposure to the intense heat of the sun; and both fleet and army were much distressed through the badness of the water, and the defect or unwholesomeness of the provisions.

These inconveniencies rendered dispatch of the utmost importance; but it was not till the 28th of June that, every thing being settled between the commanders by sea and land, the Thunder bomb took her station, covered by an armed ship, and began the attack by throwing shells at the fort. The Bristol, Solebay, Experiment, and Active, soon after brought up, and began a most furious and incessant cannonade. The Sphinx, Syren, and Actæon, were ordered to the westward, between the end of the island and Charlestown, partly with a view to enfilade the works of the fort, and, if possible, to cut off all communication between the island and the continent, and partly to interrupt all attempts by means of fire-ships, or otherwise, to prevent the grand attack. But this design was rendered unsuccessful by the strange unskilfulness of the pilot, who entangled the frigates in the shoals called the Middle Grounds, where they all stuck fast; and though two of them were speedily disengaged, it was then too late to execute the intended service. The Actæon

could not be got off, and was burnt by the officers and crew the next morning, to prevent her materials and stores from falling into the hands of the enemy. Amidst the dreadful roar of artillery and continued thunder from the ships, the garrison of the fort stuck with the greatest firmness and constancy to their guns, fired deliberately and slowly, and took a cool and effective aim. The ships suffered accordingly; and never did our marine, in an engagement of the same nature with any foreign enemy, experience so rude an encounter. The springs of the Bristol's cable being cut by the shot, she lay for some time so much exposed to the enemy's fire, that she was most dreadfully raked. The brave Captain Morris, after receiving such a number of wounds as would have sufficiently justified a gallant man in retiring from his station, still disdained, with a noble intrepidity, to quit his station, until his arm being shot off, he was carried away in a condition which did not afford a possibility of recovery. It is said that the quarter-deck of the Bristol was at one time cleared of every person but the commodore, who stood alone, a spectacle of daring intrepid firmness, which has never been exceeded, seldom equalled. The others on that deck were either killed, or carried down to have their wounds dressed. The fortifications being extremely strong, and their lowness preserving them from the weight of our shot, the fire from the ships produced not all the effect which was hoped or expected. The fort, indeed, seemed for a short time to be silenced, but this proceeded only from a want of powder, which was soon supplied from the continent. The land-forces all this while continued inactive; and night at length put an end to the attack of the fleet. Sir Peter Parker finding all hope of success at an end, and the tide of ebb nearly spent, called off his shattered vessels, after an engagement of above ten hours. The Bristol had one hundred and eleven, and the Experiment seventy-nine men killed and wounded; and both

ships had received so much damage that the Provincials conceived strong hopes, that they could never be got over the bar. The frigates, though not less diligent in the performance of their duty, being less pointed at than the great ships, did not suffer a proportionable loss.

During these transactions the General Congress took an opportunity of preparing the people for the declaration of independency, by a circular manifesto to the several colonies, stating the causes which rendered it expedient to put an end to all authority under the crown, and to take the powers of government into their own hand. The causes assigned were, the contempt of their petitions for redress of grievances, the prohibitory bill by which they were excluded from the protection of the crown, and the intended exertion of all the force of Great Britain, aided by foreign mercenaries for their destruction. The colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania at first testified a disinclination to the establishment of a new government. Their deputies, however, were at length instructed to coincide in this measure, and on the 4th of July, 1776, the Thirteen United Provinces declared themselves free and independent states, abjuring all allegiance to the British crown, and all political connection with their mother country. A few weeks after this declaration, Lord Viscount Howe arrived at Halifax, at the head of a powerful squadron, and such a number of land-forces as had never before appeared in the new world. Besides the national troops, there were thirteen thousand Hessians and Waldeckers, commanded by able officers of their own country. The whole, composed of the new reinforcements and the troops formerly in America, amounted to an army of thirty-five thousand men; which was superior in number, discipline, and provisions of every kind, to any force the Americans could bring into the field. General Howe had left Halifax a fortnight before his brother's arrival;

the latter being impatient of remaining in a place where nothing essential to the service could be performed, and where provisions began to grow scarce, had embarked his troops on board the fleet commanded by Admiral Shuldam, and sailed to Sandy Hook, the first land that is met with in approaching New York from the sea. On his passage he was met by six transports with Highland troops on board, who had been separated from several of their companions in the voyage. It appeared soon after, that most of the missing ships, with above four hundred and fifty soldiers and several officers, had been taken by the American cruisers. The general found every part of the Island of New York strongly fortified, defended by numerous artillery, and guarded by a considerably army. The extent of Long Island did not admit of its being so strongly fortified or so well guarded; it was, however, in a powerful state of defence, having an encampment of considerable force on the end of the island near New York, and several works thrown up in the most accessible parts of the coast, as well as at the strongest internal passes. Staten Island, which was of less value and importance, was less powerfully defended; and on this the general landed without opposition. Here he was met by governor Tryon, who, like the other gentlemen invested with chief authority in North America, had been obliged to escape on ship-board. Some hundreds of well-affected inhabitants from the neighbouring parts also joined the royal standard.

Lord Howe did not arrive at Staten Island till the 14th of July; when he sent to the continent a circular letter setting forth the powers with which he and his brother were invested by the late act of parliament for granting general or particular pardons to all those who, in the tumult and disaster of the times, might have deviated from their just allegiance, and who were willing, by a speedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour. These letters

were treated with as little respect as every other proposition of a similar kind, the Americans contemning the idea of granting pardons to those who were not sensible of any guilt. Meanwhile the British armament was joined by the fleet commanded by Sir Peter Parker, as well as by some regiments from Florida and the West Indies. The greatest part of the forces being now united, an attack against Long Island was determined, as being more easy of execution than against the Island of New York, and as the former abounded more with those supplies which so great a body of men as were now assembled by sea and land demanded.

The necessary measures being taken by the fleet for covering the descent, the army was landed without opposition on the south-west end of the island. Soon after this was effected, General Clinton, in the night of the 26th of August, at the head of the van of the army, consisting of the light infantry, grenadiers, light horse, reserve under Lord Cornwallis, with fourteen field pieces, advanced towards the enemy's encampment, and seized an important pass which they had left unguarded. The way being thus happily open, the whole army passed the hills without noise or impediment, and descended by the town of Bedford into the level country. The engagement was begun early in the morning, while the ships made several motions on the left, and attacked a battery at Red Hook, which distracted the attention of the enemy, and called off their attention from their right and rear where the main attack was intended. Nothing could exceed the spirit and alacrity shewn by all the different corps of which the British army was composed. They made the enemy retreat on every side, pursued them with great slaughter, and such was the ambition between the British and foreign troops, that it was with difficulty General Howe could restrain their impetuosity in breaking through the American lines, and cutting to pieces

or taking prisoners all those who had escaped the danger of the battle and the pursuit. The victors encamped in the front of the enemy's work on the evening after the engagement, and on the 28th, at night, broke ground in form at six hundred yards distance from a redoubt which covered the enemy's left.

During the battle General Washington had passed over from New York, and saw with great mortification the unhappy fate of his bravest troops. The remainder were as much inferior in number and discipline to the British army, as their inconsiderable batteries were unequal to the assault of the royal artillery. No hopes of safety remained but in a retreat, which might well have appeared impracticable in the face of such a commanding force by land, and a fleet at sea which only waited a favourable wind to enter the East River, which would effectually cut off all communication between the islands. This arduous task, however, was undertaken and carried into execution by the singular ability of General Washington. In the night of the 29th, the Provincial troops were withdrawn from the camp and their different works, and with their baggage, stores, and artillery conveyed to the water side, embarked, and passed over a long ferry to New York. This was conducted with such wonderful silence and order, that our army did not perceive the least motion, and were surprised in the morning at finding the lines abandoned, and seeing the last of the rear-guard in the boats and out of danger. By this successful manœuvre, General Washington not only saved the troops on Long Island from captivity, but fortified the courage and strength of his army at New York, and enabled the Americans to continue the war with unabating ardour. Yet this measure he could not have effected, had the English general allowed his troops to force the enemy's lines, had the ships of war been stationed in the East River, or

had the vigilance of the British soldiers watched and intercepted the movements of the Provincials.

After the success attending the superior bravery of the English in the engagement, and that attending the superior wisdom of Washington in the retreat, the commissioners renewed their proposals of conciliation, which were still as fruitless as before. Laying aside, therefore, their pacific character, they again had recourse to their military. The British troops were impatient to meet the enemy, who had escaped so unexpectedly from their hands. A river only divided them, along the banks of which they erected batteries, while a fleet of three hundr d sail, including transports, hovered round the Island of New York, and threatened destruction on every side. The small islands between the opposite shores were perpetual objects of contest, until by dint of a well-served artillery, and the aid of the ships, those were secured which were most necessary to their future operations. At length, every thing being prepared for a descent, the men of war made several movements up the North river, in order to draw the attention of the enemy to that quarter of the island. Other parts seemed equally threatened, and increased the uncertainty of the real object of the attack. While the rebels were in this state of perplexity, the first division of the army, under the command of General Clinton, embarked at the head of Newtoun Bay, which runs pretty deep into Long Island, and where they were entirely out of view of the enemy. Being covered by five ships of war upon their entrance into East River, they proceeded to Kepp's Bay, where, being less expected than in some other places, the preparation for defence was not so considerable. The works, however, were not weak, nor destitute of troops, but the fire from the ships was so incessant and well directed that they were soon abandoned, and the army landed without farther opposition. The enemy immediately quitted the city of New York,

and retired towards the north, where their principal strength lay, particularly at King's Bridge, by which their communication with the continent of New York was kept open. General Howe thought the works here too strong to be attacked with any prospect of success; and therefore determined either to bring the rebels to an engagement on equal terms, or to enclose them in their fortresses. While he made what appeared to be the proper disposition for this purpose, with a fleet and army sufficient to cover and surround the whole island, General Washington, by a most judicious manœuvre, formed his troops into a line of small detached encampments, which occupied every high and strong ground on the land opposite to King's Bridge. He left a garrison to defend the lines there, and Fort Washington; which, after a vigorous resistance, fell into the hands of the British forces. But General Howe could not bring Washington to an engagement, who availed himself of his skill and address while he fled before a superior force, retreating from one post to another, but always occupying more advantageous ground than his pursuers.

The British commander thus disappointed in his design of making any vigorous impression on the main body of the enemy, detached, on the 18th of November, Lord Cornwallis to take Fort Lee, and to advance farther into the Jerseys. The garrison of two thousand men abandoned the place the night before his lordship's arrival, leaving their artillery, stores, tents, and every thing else behind. Our troops afterwards over-ran the greater part of the two Jerseys, the enemy flying every where before them; and at length extended their winter cantonments from New Brunswick to the Delaware. In the beginning of December, General Clinton, with two brigades of British, and two of Hessian troops, with a squadron of ships of war commanded by Sir Peter Parker, were sent to make an attack upon Rhode Island, in which they succeeded beyond expectation. The general

took possession of the island without the loss of a man; while the naval commander blocked up the principal marine force of the enemy, commanded by Hopkins, the admiral of the Congress, who then lay in the harbour of Providence.

On the side of Canada we left General Carleton driving the rebels towards the Lakes Champlain and St. George, of which they had formerly obtained possession, as well as of the important fortress of Ticonderago. If the British troops could recover these, and advance as far as Albany before the severity of the winter set in, they might pour destruction into the heart of the middle or northern colonies, as General Washington could not attempt to hold any post in New York or the Jerseys against such a superior force as already opposed him in front, and General Carleton's army at his back. Notwithstanding the most unremitting industry in preparing this northern expedition, it was not until the month of October, that the English fleet was in a condition to seek the enemy on Lake Champlain. The ship Inflexible, which may be considered as admiral, had been reconstructed at St. John's, from which she sailed in twenty-eight days after laying her keel, and mounted eighteen twelve-pounders. One schooner mounted fourteen, and another twelve six-pounders. A flat-bottomed radeau carried six twelve-pounders, besides howitzers; and a gondola seven nine-pounders. Twenty smaller vessels, under the denomination of gun-boats, carried brass field-pieces from nine to twenty-four pounders, or were armed with howitzers. Several long-boats were furnished in the same manner, and an equal number of long-boats acted as tenders. All these appertained to war; and there were, besides, an immense number of transports and victuallers destined for the service and conveyance of the army. The armament was conducted by Captain Pringle, and navigated by above seven hundred prime seamen, of whom two hundred were volunteers

from the transports, who, after having rivalled those belonging to the ships of war in all the toil of preparation, now boldly and freely partook with them in the danger of the expedition. The fleet of the enemy was not of equal force, and amounted to only fifteen vessels of different kinds, consisting of two schooners, one sloop, one cutter, three gallies, and eight gondolas. The principal schooner mounted twelve six and four-pounders. They were commanded by Benedict Arnold, who was now to support upon a new element the glory which he had acquired by his achievements as a general.

The British armament proceeding up the lake the 11th of October, 1776, discovered the enemy drawn up with great judgment, in order to defend the passage between the Island of Valicour and the western main. A warm action ensued, and was vigorously supported on both sides for several hours. The wind being unfavourable, the ship Inflexible and some other vessels of force could not be worked up to the enemy, so that the weight of the action fell on the schooner Carleton and the gun-boats. As the whole could not be engaged, Captain Pringle, with the approbation of the general, withdrew his advanced vessels at the approach of night, and brought the whole fleet to anchor in a line, as near as possible to the enemy, in order to prevent their retreat.

Arnold being now sensible of his inferiority, took the opportunity which the darkness of the night afforded, to set sail, unperceived, hoping to obtain shelter and protection at Crown Point. Fortune seemed at first favourable to his purpose, for he had entirely lost sight of the enemy before next morning. The chace, however, being continued both on that and the succeeding day, the wind, and other circumstances peculiar to the navigation of the lake, which had been at first advantageous to the Americans, became at length otherwise, so that on the 13th at noon, they were overtaken, and brought to action a

few leagues short of Crown Point. The engagement lasted two hours, during which, those vessels of the enemy that were most a-head pushed on with the greatest speed, and, passing Crown Point, escaped to Ticonderago; while two gallies and five gondolas which remained with Arnold made a desperate resistance. But their obstinate valour was at length obliged to yield to the superiority of force, skill, and weight of metal, by which it was assailed. The Washington galley with Waterburg, a brigadier-general and the second in command aboard, struck, and was taken. But Arnold determined that his people should not become prisoners, nor his vessel a prey to the English. With equal resolution and dexterity he run the Congress galley, in which himself was, with the five gondolas, on shore, in such a manner as to land his men safely and blow up the vessels, in spite of every effort that was used to prevent both. Not satisfied with this substantial advantage, which in his situation was more than could have been expected from an experienced commander, he inflexibly persisted in maintaining a dangerous point of honour, by keeping his flag flying, and not quitting his galley till she was in flames, lest the English should have boarded and struck it; an attention which greatly raised his reputation in America.

Thus was Lake Champlain recovered, and the enemy's force nearly destroyed, a galley and three small vessels being all that escaped to Ticonderago. The Provincials, upon the rout of their fleet, set fire to the houses at Crown Point, and retired to their main body. Carleton took possession of the ruins, and being joined by his whole army, pushed on towards the enemy. But the post of Ticonderago was too strongly fortified to be taken without great loss of blood; and the benefit arising from success could not be considerable, as the season was too far advanced to think of crossing Lake George, and of exposing the army to the perils of a winter campaign,

in the inhospitable wilds to the southward. General Carleton, therefore, re-embarked the army without making any attack upon this place, and returning to Canada, cantoned his troops there for the winter.

The Americans seem to have been guilty of an unpardonable blunder in not maintaining a more powerful squadron on the lakes, which laid open the heart of their country. But, besides the want of timber, artillery, and other materials necessary for such an equipment, the carpenters, and all others concerned in the business of shipping, were fully engaged in the sea-ports in the construction and fitting out of privateers. To this the force of the rebels was principally bent; and the interest of individuals, which was more immediately concerned in the success of particular cruisers, than in supporting the marine strength of the nation, gave redoubled vigour to all the operations of the former.

The West Indies, which in the want of food, and of staves, the article next in necessity to food, experienced the first melancholy effects of the American war, also suffered the most from the Provincial privateers. The fleet which sailed from Jamaica in August, 1776, being scattered by bad weather, fell a prey to the activity of their cruisers, who had seized the proper station for intercepting their passage. Nor was the trade from the other islands more fortunate. So that though the Americans did not begin their depredations till late in the year, the British loss in captures, exclusive of transports and government store-ships, was estimated considerably higher than a million sterling. Some blame was thrown on the convoy, and much indignation felt that the superintendence of our naval affairs, on which the glory and security of the nation depend, should be intrusted to hands unworthy to hold it. Such a sacred deposit required, it was thought, not only pure, but steady hands; the duties of the important office to which it belongs, calling for unremitting vigilance and acti-

vity, and being totally incompatible with a life of licentious and degrading pleasure. Religious men were not surprised, that under such an inauspicious influence the dignity of the nation should suffer a total eclipse, while the American cruizers swarmed in the European seas, and replenished the ports of France and Spain with prizes taken from the English. These prizes were sold in Europe without any colour of disguise, at the same time that French ships in the West Indies took American commissions, and carried on with impunity a successful war on British trade and navigation,

Meanwhile the time of the meeting of parliament approached, when it was expected that the line of conduct necessary for a total conquest, or happy conciliation with the colonies, would be clearly pointed out and explained. The great armaments which were continually increasing in the French and Spanish ports, and many other suspicious appearances during the recess, rendered it necessary to put into commission sixteen additional ships of the line, and to increase the bounty to seamen for entering the service to 5*l. per* man. The expences of the navy for the year 1777, including the ordinary at 400,005*l.* and the building and repairing of ships, which was voted at 465,500*l.* amounted to no less than 3,205,505*l.* exclusive of 4000*l.* which was afterwards voted to Greenwich Hospital. The supplies for the land-service fell little short of three millions, although the extraordinaries of the preceding year, which exceeded 1,200,000*l.* were not yet provided for. In whatever manner administration might employ the force by sea and land, the nation had provided for the support of both, with such liberal magnificence as equalled the supplies during the last war, when the fleets and armies of Britain opposed and defeated the united efforts of the greatest powers in Europe. Soon after the Christmas recess, a bill was passed, enabling the Admiralty to grant letters of marque and

reprisal to the owners or captains of private merchant-ships, to take and make prize of all vessels with their effects, belonging to any of the inhabitants of the Thirteen United Colonies. All the powers of the kingdom were thus called forth, affording, as it would seem, a force infinitely more than sufficient, had it been properly directed, to crush this aspiring rebellion.

But unfortunately the star of America still maintained the ascendant. The British troops whom we left in apparent security in their cantonments, were assailed on all sides in the middle of winter by General Washington, who remedied the deficiency of his force by the manner of applying it, and by attacking, unexpectedly and separately, those bodies which he could not venture to encounter if united. By some well-concerted and spirited actions, this American Fabius, after a retreat which would have done honour to the judgment of the most circumspect of all the Romans, not only saved Philadelphia and delivered Pennsylvania from danger, but recovered the greatest part of the Jerseys, and obliged an army greatly superior in number as well as in discipline to act upon the defensive, and for several months to remain within very narrow and inconvenient limits.

The British nation, how much soever they were afflicted with those misfortunes, still expected that, notwithstanding this war of posts, surprises, and detachments, which had been successfully carried on by the Americans during the winter, the regular forces would prevail in the end. They waited, therefore, with much impatience for the approach of spring, when the mighty armaments which they had raised with so high expectation of victory, might be brought into action. When the time at length arrived, with equal astonishment and indignation, they learned that from some improvidence or inattention, unaccounted for at home, the army was restrained from taking the field for want of tents and field

equipage. The months of March and April, therefore, instead of being employed in such decisive enterprises as might terminate the war, were confined to some subordinate expeditions in which the naval superiority of Britain was crowned with success. The Provincials had erected mills and established magazines in a rough and mountainous tract called the Manour of Courtland, to which a place called Peek's Kill, lying fifty miles up Hudson's river from New York, served as a kind of port. Courtland Manour was too strong to be attacked with any prospect of success; but Peek's Kill lay within the reach of the navy. On the 23d of March, Colonel Bird was sent with three hundred men under the conduct of a frigate and other armed vessels, up the North River to destroy the works of the enemy at this place. Upon the approach of the British armament, the Americans thinking themselves unequal to the defence of the port, and being convinced that there was not time to remove any thing but their persons and arms, set fire to the barracks and principal store houses, and then retired to a strong pass about two miles distance, commanding the entrance into the mountains, and covering a road which led to some of the mills and other deposits. The British troops landed and completed the conflagration, which had already gone too far to allow any thing to be saved. All the magazines were thus destroyed, and the troops, having performed this service, returned, after taking several small craft laden with provisions. Another expedition of a similar kind was undertaken against the town of Danbury, on the borders of Connecticut, and attended with equal success.

These petty advantages were nothing, compared to the infinite benefit which the Americans derived from the delay of the British army in taking the field. The Provincials were greatly augmented by reinforcements from all quarters to the Jerseys. Those who shuddered at a winter's campaign grew bold in

summer; and the certainty of a future winter had no greater effect than distant evils usually have. When General Howe passed over from New York to the Jerseys the middle of June, he found Washington's army, which six weeks before had been nothing to his own in point of force, greatly increased, and stationed in such advantageous and inaccessible posts as defied every assault. All his attempts to bring Washington to an engagement, or to make him quit his defensive plan of conducting the war, proved abortive; and it appeared the height of temerity to attempt advancing to the Delaware, through so strong a country entirely hostile, and with such an enemy in his rear. Nothing remained, therefore, for General Howe, but to avail himself of the immense naval force which co-operated with the army, and which, in a country like America, intersected by great navigable rivers, gave him an opportunity of transporting his forces to the most vulnerable parts of the rebellious provinces. The Americans had no force to resist the navigation, and it was impossible for them to know where the storm would fall, or to make provision against it. General Howe accordingly passed over with the army to Staten Island, from which it was intended that the embarkation should take place.

For the success of this grand expedition, nothing was more requisite than dispatch; yet, notwithstanding the assistance afforded by the crews of three hundred vessels, it was not till the 23d of July that the fleet and army were ready to depart from Sandy Hook. The force embarked, consisted of thirty-six British and Hessian battalions, including the light infantry and grenadiers, with a powerful artillery, a New York corps called the Queen's Rangers, and a regiment of light horse. Seventeen battalions with a regiment of light horse, and the remainder of the New York corps were left for the protection of that

and the neighbouring islands; and Rhode Island was occupied by seven battalions.

Philadelphia, the original seat of the General Congress, but from which that body had retired to Baltimore, was the object of these mighty preparations. The weather being unfavourable, it cost the fleet a week to gain the capes of the Delaware. The information which the commanders received there of the measures taken by the enemy for rendering the navigation of that river impracticable, engaged them to alter their design of proceeding by that way, and to undertake the passage by Chesapeak Bay to Maryland, the southern boundary of which is at no great distance from Philadelphia. The middle of August was past before they entered this bay, after which, with a favourable wind, they gained the river Elk near its extremity, through a most intricate and dangerous navigation. Having proceeded up this river as far as it was possible for large vessels, the army were relieved from their tiresome confinement on board the transports, which was rendered doubly disagreeable by the heat of the season, and landed without opposition at Elk Ferry on the 25th of August. Whilst one part of the army advanced to the head of the Elk, the other continued at the landing-place to protect and forward the artillery, stores, and necessary provisions.

Meanwhile General Washington returned with his army from the Jerseys to the defence of Philadelphia. Their force, including the militia, amounted to thirteen thousand men, which was still considerably inferior in number to the royal army. General Howe, after publishing such proclamations as he thought necessary for quieting the minds of the inhabitants, and inducing them to return to the protection of the crown, began on the 3d of September to pursue his course to Philadelphia. Washington lost no opportunity of harassing him in his march, by every pos-

sible means which did not involve the necessity of risking a general engagement. But several considerable actions took place between the troops both before and after General Howe had entered Philadelphia, of which the army became possessed the 26th of September. In these actions victory always inclined to the side of the king's troops, who shewed as much ardour in the attack as Washington discovered wisdom in the retreat, and in avoiding a general engagement. The Provincials had great disadvantage in the use of the bayonet, with which instrument they were ill provided, and which they knew little how to manage. And when this circumstance is considered, it will not appear surprising that the disproportion between their number of slain and that of the king's troops should in every action have been considerable.

When the British troops had taken possession of Philadelphia, their first employment was, to erect batteries which might command the river, and protect the city from any insult by water. This was so necessary a measure, that the very day of the arrival of the forces, the American frigate Delaware, of thirty-two guns, anchored within five hundred yards of the unfinished batteries, and being seconded by another frigate, with some smaller vessels, commenced a heavy cannonade, which lasted for several hours. Upon the falling of the tide, however, the Delaware grounded, and was taken; and the batteries newly erected were played with such effect against the other vessels, that they were fortunate to be able to retire.

Meanwhile Lord Howe being apprized of the determined progress of the army to Philadelphia, took the most speedy and effectual measures to convey the fleet and transports round to the Delaware, in order to supply the army with the necessary stores and provisions, as well as to concur in the active operations of the campaign. After a dangerous and intricate voyage, the fleet arrived in the western or Pennsylvania

shore, where they drew up and anchored. The passage to Philadelphia, however, was still impracticable, for the Americans had constructed great and numerous works with wonderful labour and industry to interrupt the navigation of the river. The principal of these were, the strong batteries on a low and marshy island, or rather an accumulation of mud and sand at the junction of the Delaware and Schuylkill; a considerable fort or redoubt at a place called Red Bank on the opposite shore of New Jersey; and in the deep navigable channel between these forts there had been sunk several ranges of frames or machines, which from resemblance of construction were called chevaux de frize. These were composed of transverse beams, firmly united, and of such weight and strength as rendered it equally difficult to penetrate or remove them. About three miles lower down the river they had sunk other machines of a similar form, and erected new batteries on shore on the Jersey side to co-operate in the defence. Both were farther supported by several gallies mounting heavy cannon, together with two floating batteries, a number of armed vessels and small craft of various kinds, and some fire-ships.

The first thing requisite for opening the channel was, to get the command of the shore. Accordingly, upon the representation of Captain Hammond of the Roebuck, which, with some other ships of war, had arrived in the Delaware before Lord Howe, the general detached two regiments to dislodge the enemy from Billingsfort, the principal place of strength on the Jersey shore. This service was successfully performed; and Captain Hammond, after a vigorous contest with the marine force of the enemy, was able with much labour to weigh up as much of the chevaux de frize as opened a narrow and difficult passage through this lower barrier.

It was not attempted to remove the upper barrier, which was much the stronger, until the arrival of

Lord Howe, who concerted measures for this purpose with the general. The latter ordered batteries to be erected on the Pennsylvania shore, to assist in dislodging the enemy from Mud Island. He also detached (22d October) a strong body of Hessians to attack the redoubt at Red Bank; while Lord Howe ordered the men of war and frigates to approach Mud Island, which was the main object of the assault. The operations by land and sea were equally unsuccessful. The Hessians were repulsed with great slaughter by the garrison at Red Bank, as well as by the floating batteries of the enemy. The ships could not bring their fire to bear with any considerable effect upon the island. The extraordinary obstructions with which the Americans had interrupted the free course of the river, had even affected its bed, and wrought some alteration on its known and natural channel. By this means the Augusta man of war of sixty-four guns, and Merlin sloop were grounded so fast at some distance from the chevaux de frize, that there was no possibility of getting them off. In this situation, though the skill of the officers, seconded by the activity of the crews, prevented the effect of four fire-ships sent to destroy the Augusta, she unfortunately took fire in the engagement, which obliged the others to retire at a distance from the expected explosion. The Merlin also was destroyed, but few lives were lost.

These untoward events did not prevent a second trial on the 15th November to perform the necessary work of opening the communication of the river. While the enemy left nothing undone to strengthen their defences, the British fleet were incessantly employed in conveying heavy artillery and stores up the river to a small morassy island, where they erected batteries which greatly incommoded the American works on Mud Island. At length every thing being prepared for an assault, the Isis and Somerset men of war passed up the east channel, in order to attack the

enemy's works in front; several frigates drew up against a newly erected fort near Manto Creek: and two armed vessels, mounted with twenty-four pounders, made their way through a narrow channel on the western side, in order to enfilade the principal works. The fire from the ships was terrible, and returned during the whole day with equal vivacity. Towards the evening the fire of the fort began to abate, and at length was totally silenced. The enemy perceiving that measures were taking for forcing their works on the following morning, set fire to every thing that could be destroyed, and escaped under favour of the night. The forts on the main land did not afterwards make much resistance, and, as well as that on the island, afforded a considerable quantity of artillery and military stores to the victors.

The American shipping having now lost all protection on either side of the river, several of their gallies, and other armed vessels, took the advantage of a favourable night to pass the batteries of Philadelphia, and fly to places of security farther up the river. This was no sooner discovered than the Delaware frigate, now lying at Philadelphia, was manned and sent in pursuit of them; and other measures were taken which rendered their escape impossible. Thus environed, the crews abandoned and set fire to their vessels, which were all consumed to the number of seventeen, including the two floating batteries and fireships: with all these advantages, the advanced season of the year and other impediments rendered the clearing of the river in any considerable degree impracticable; so that the making such a channel as afforded a passage for transports and vessels of easy burden, with provisions and necessaries for the army, was all that could be effected by the fleet; while the whole success of the army amounted only to their securing good winter quarters at Philadelphia.

If the consequences of victory were little calculated to remove the uneasiness which began to be felt in

England, as to the nature and result of the American war, the effects of defeat in the army of the north, intended to co-operate with the grand expedition, occasioned the most gloomy apprehensions. It had been resolved in the cabinet, where all the future operations of the campaign had been settled with a painful and minute accuracy, that while General Howe made a severe impression on the heart of America, the extremities should also feel the cruel effects of hostility. General Carleton, who had succeeded so well in this attempt in the former campaign, and to whose unremitting activity, directed by experienced wisdom, the nation are indebted for the preservation of Canada, was superseded in the command, which was bestowed by government on General Burgoyne. With an army of above seven thousand regular troops, provided in a manner the most complete, and furnished with the finest train of artillery ever seen in the new world, that general proceeded to Canada, when being joined by the provincial militia of the country, he took measures according to his instructions for being reinforced by a powerful band of savages. About the middle of June, he met the Indians in Congress on the banks of Lake Champlain, where he said every thing that appeared most effectual for raising the valour, and bridling the ferocity of our new allies. Soon after he published a manifesto to the inhabitants of the northern provinces, setting forth the magnitude of his preparations, and denouncing against the rebellious all the calamities and outrages of war, arrayed in the most terrific forms. Encouragement and employment were assured to those, who, with a disposition and ability suited to the purpose, should chearfully assist in redeeming their country from slavery, and in re-establishing legal government. Protection and security, clogged with conditions, restricted by our circumstances, and rather obscurely and imperfectly expressed, were held out to the peaceable and industrious, who continued in their habitations.

After these previous steps, which the general judged necessary, it was intended, that the army in concert with the naval force on the lakes, should proceed to the siege of Ticonderago, and after securing that important fortress, advance southward on the frontiers of the provinces, where they would at length join the force conducted by Sir Henry Clinton and Commodore Hotham, which, advancing northward from New York, destroyed the works, towns, and country of the enemy, on both sides of the river. At first, every thing succeeded with General Burgoyne that could gratify the most sanguine hopes of those who employed him. Ticonderago was taken, the remainder of the rebel squadron on Lake George was pursued and defeated, and the enemy every where fled before the victorious troops, whom they had neither strength nor spirit to withstand. The first impressions of despair produced on the minds of the rebels, had time to wear off by the delays of the march, in a country so impracticable, that in some places it was hardly possible to advance a mile in a day. The New England governments, the most immediately threatened, had time to recollect themselves, and to take every measure that seemed most necessary for their defence. Arnold, who alternately acted the part of a general and commodore, with equal skill and bravery, was sent to reinforce the declining courage of the American troops, and carried with him a considerable train of artillery. The terror excited by the savages, who were guilty of various enormities too shocking to be described, produced at length an effect directly contrary to what had been expected. The inhabitants of the open and frontier country were obliged to take up arms to defend themselves against this barbarous race; and when the regular army of the Provincials seemed to be nearly wasted, a new one, and more formidable, was poured forth from the woods, mountains, and marshes, which in this part are thickly sown with plantations and vil-

lages. General Gates, an officer of tried ardour, and of a regular military education, took the command of this force, in which he co-operated with Arnold with the most singular unanimity. The consequence is well known, and will be long remembered. Burgoyne had gone too far to retreat to Canada, nor could he proceed to Albany, without forcing his way through the rebel army. After a number of skirmishes, marches, and two bloody engagements, he entered into the convention of Saratoga the 17th October, by which the British troops laid down their arms, and engaged never to assist more in attempting to subdue America.

During the operation of the causes which led to this humiliating transaction, Sir Henry Clinton conducted his expedition up the North River, with uncommon success. Having embarked three thousand men for that expedition, accompanied by a suitable naval force, consisting of frigates, armed gallies, and smaller vessels, he attacked the Forts of Montgomery and Clinton. Several necessary motions being made to mask the real design, the troops were landed in two separate divisions, at such a distance as occasioned a considerable and difficult march through the mountains, which was conducted so skilfully, that they arrived at the forts, and began their respective attacks at the same moment of time. The surprise and terror of the garrison were increased by the appearance of the ships of war, and the arrival and near fire of the gallies, which approached so close as to strike the walls with their oars. Both forts were carried by storm, and the slaughter of the enemy, occasioned by the obstinacy of their resistance, was very considerable. Those who escaped, set fire to two frigates and several other vessels, which, with their artillery and stores, were consumed or sunk. Another fort, called Constitution, was, in a day or two after, upon the approach of the combined naval and land forces, set on fire, and abandoned. The artillery taken in all

the three amounted to sixty-seven pieces, of different sizes. A few days afterwards, Continental Village, containing barracks for one thousand five hundred men, and considerable stores, was destroyed. A large boom or chain, the expense of which was estimated at 70,000*l.* and which was considered as an extraordinary proof of American industry and skill, was sunk or carried away: and the whole loss was the greatest which the enemy had hitherto sustained. The navy continued to pursue the advantage. Sir James Wallace, with a flying squadron of light frigates, and General Vaughan, with a considerable detachment of troops, made various excursions up the river, carrying terror and destruction wherever they went. At the very time that General Burgoyne was negociating conditions for his ruined army, the thriving town of Esopus, at no very great distance, was reduced to ashes, and not a house left standing. The troops and vessels did not retire to New York until they had dismantled the forts, and left the river totally defenceless. Thus it must be confessed that, amidst all our misfortunes, the navy carried on every operation in which they were concerned, with their wonted spirit and success.

When news of the various events which had marked and chequered this important year of the American war were brought to England, the nation were agitated by a tumult of passions, which it is not easy to describe or analyse. The boasted preparations which were to bring America to our feet, and which seemed capable, instead of subduing the rebels by open force, to look them into unconditional submission, produced none of the great effects which had been so firmly expected. The armament conducted by the Howes, had not been able to gain any decisive advantage over the force of the Provincials; the northern army, whether through the incapacity of the minister, or the rashness of the general, had been delivered up, or rather abandoned a miserable prey into the hands

of our enemies. Great part of the shipping of the Americans had, indeed, been destroyed; some of their towns were in our possession; their country had felt the calamities of war; their works of defence, raised with great art and industry, had been weakened or demolished; but the spirit of the people was still unsubdued, and their unremitting activity in a cause which they adored, animated by the first gleams of success, would naturally prompt them to more vigorous and daring efforts than they had yet exerted.

Notwithstanding these fatal appearances, the English ministry were so entwined in the American war, that it was impossible for them conveniently to be disengaged from it: their measures, it seemed, could only be justified by success, which, had it depended on the liberality of the supplies, must doubtless have been obtained. On the 27th of November, 1777, sixty thousand seamen, with eleven thousand marines, were voted for the service of the ensuing year. The maintaining of those, with the building and repairing of ships, the ordinary of the navy and half-pay, and the discharge of a million of debt, made the whole expence of the fleet for the year 1778, amount to above five millions sterling. Yet this immense sum exceeded only by about half a million, the expence of the land forces; for besides the national troops, we had taken into pay about twenty-five thousand Hessians, Hanoverians, Brunswickers, and other Germans: and many corporations, as well as individuals, subscribed largely for raising new regiments, to reinforce the standing military strength of the country. This measure which, in any other war, would have been universally approved as a mark of the highest public spirit, was loudly condemned by opposition, as furnishing troops to the king, without consent of parliament; and the effect produced on the public by the factious clamours against the new levies, clearly showed the prevailing indifference, or rather disinclination, to the continuance of a war, in

which we had hitherto met with little else but disappointments and disgrace.

Meanwhile the news of the defeat and surrender of General Burgbyne's army were received in France the beginning of December, and began totally to change the views and behaviour of that court with regard to the Americans. The agents whom the Congress kept at Paris, had hitherto been coolly received by the French ministry, though idolized by the levity or interestedness of the nation; but upon so favourable a turn in the affairs of their constituents, they renewed, with more success, their proposals for negociating a treaty, while the French king received the compliments of his nobility on the misfortune of the British troops, with as much complacence as if his own had obtained a signal victory. In consequence of these circumstances, so advantageous to the credit of the Americans, Monsieur Girard, royal syndic of Strasbourg, and secretary of his Most Christian Majesty's council of state, waited on the American agents, by order of his Majesty, the 16th of December, and acquainted them, that, after long and full consideration of their affairs and propositions in council, his Majesty was determined to acknowledge the independence of the Americans, and to make a treaty with them of amity and commerce. That in this treaty no advantage should be taken of their present situation, to obtain terms which otherwise could not be convenient for them to agree to, his Majesty desiring that the treaty once made should be durable, which could not be expected, unless each nation found its interest in the continuance, as well as in the commencement of it. It was, therefore, his intention to enter into such an agreement with them, as they could not but approve, had their state been long established, and attained the fulness of strength and power. That his Majesty was determined not only to acknowledge, but support their independence, even at the risk of a war; and, notwithstanding the expense and danger

attending this measure, he expected no compensation on that account, as he pretended not to act wholly for their sakes, since, besides his real good will to them and their cause, it was manifestly the interest of France, that the power of England should be diminished, by separating America from it for ever. The only condition which he required, therefore, on the part of the Americans was, "That in no peace to be made with England, they should give up their independence, and return to the obedience of that government." Upon this foundation, the treaty was drawn up and signed, and soon after dispatched to receive the ratification of Congress.

It appears, not from any thing laid before the public, that the British ministry were officially informed of this important transaction. Above two months afterwards, the first lord of the treasury, and the minister for the southern department, declared they knew nothing for certain concerning any treaty between France and America. If this were really the case, the ambassador at Paris scarcely deserved those honourable and lucrative marks of royal approbation, which have been since so liberally bestowed on him; but if the fact is otherwise, and if we may give entire credit to the defence of that nobleman, when called to account in the House of Peers, it will be difficult to save the honour of ministers, whose character and veracity are of less importance to the public, than the humiliating and disgraceful condition in which this once great and respectable nation must appear in the eyes of Europe. In former times we should, instead of dissembling the treaty, have demanded a full communication of all its contents; but, to use the words of an ingenious author, "when people are dejected by frequent losses, torn by intestine factions, or any other way internally distressed, their deliberations are confused, their resolutions slow, and an apparent languor is visible, when they attempt to carry their resolutions into execution."

However this question might be decided between the ministry at home, and their ambassador at Paris, for the tameness of the public did not bring the affair to a full explanation, it was generally believed that administration knew of the proposed treaty between France and America, and that the plan of conciliation proposed by Lord North the 17th of February, was intended to counterwork the negociations of our rivals. The proposition of his lordship was for two acts of parliament: the first, a bill for enabling his Majesty to appoint commissioners to treat, consent, and agree on the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies. The second, a bill declaring the intention of parliament concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes on the provinces of North America. Both bills were passed; and, notwithstanding the nice distinctions which were made in his lordship's speech, it appeared to common understandings that we gave up, by the latter bill, not only the power of taxing America, but all that national pre-eminence and supremacy which had been so pompously described. We thus renounced the original ground of the quarrel, and more than America ever desired us to renounce; but since the declaration of independency, and the conclusion of the treaty with France, it was little to be doubted that our present concessions would be attended with no better success than our former pretensions. In fact, the moderation of government, the unseasonableness of which prevented its having any effect on the resolutions of the rebels, served only to damp the spirits of those who had entered most heartily into all the measures of government and coercion; and had not France, by throwing aside the veil through which our ministers were still fond to view her, rouzed the indignation and resentment of the British nation, the military ardour which had been so happily excited would have begun to subside, and the people would have

again fallen back into a lethargic languor and inactivity. But, on the 13th of March, the Marquis of Noailles, ambassador from France, delivered the following declaration, by order of his court, to Lord Viscount Weymouth: That the United States of America, who are in full possession of independence, as pronounced by them on the 4th of July, 1776, having proposed to the king to consolidate, by a formal convention, the connection begun to be established between the nations, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed a treaty of friendship and commerce, designed to serve as a foundation for their mutual good correspondence. His Majesty being determined to cultivate the good understanding subsisting between France and Great Britain, by every means compatible with his dignity, and the good of his subjects, thinks it necessary to make this proceeding known to the court of London, and to declare at the same time, that the contracting parties have paid great attention not to stipulate any exclusive advantages in favour of the French nation; and that the United States have reserved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever, upon the same footing of equality. In making this communication, his Most Christian Majesty observes, that the British ministry will find new proofs of his constant and sincere disposition for peace, and he therefore hopes they will take effectual measures to prevent the commerce between France and America from being interrupted, and to cause all the usages received between commercial nations to be in this respect observed. In this just confidence he thinks it superfluous to acquaint them, that he has taken eventual measures, in concert with the United States of America, to maintain the dignity of his flag, and effectually to protect the lawful commerce of his subjects." This declaration was immediately laid before the House of Lords, with a message from the king, setting forth the perfidy of France, and con-

trasting it with his own steady adherence to the faith of treaties. The message was answered by both lords and commons in a high strain of indignation and resentment against the restless ambition of the French court. The British ambassador at Paris was recalled, and the Marquis of Noailles left London. The immediate consequences of these steps were, an embargo laid on the shipping in the French and English ports; the warmest impress almost ever known; and the embodying and calling forth the militia to the number of thirty thousand men.

A war with France can never be unpopular in this country; and by bringing matters to such a point that the French appeared evidently to be the aggressors, and wantonly to provoke the hostility of Great Britain, the ministry, had this been their own work, would have possessed the merit of using the surest means of rousing the latent resentment and inherent antipathy of the English against their natural enemies. The great body of the people talked of nothing but violation of treaties, treachery, war, and vengeance. The new levies were carried on with redoubled vigour, especially in Scotland. A majority of both houses re-echoed the sentiments and language of the vulgar. A few only ventured to think that France had done nothing inconsistent with the universal practice of nations, and must have been deaf to every call of interest, if she had not availed herself of the misfortunes or misconduct of Great Britain to aggrandize her own power. Upon the same principle that Queen Elizabeth assisted with her troops and treasure the United States of the Netherlands to throw off the yoke of a monarch then formidable to all Europe, the French could not fail, in a more enlightened age, greedily to seize the occasion of supporting the independence of British America. If ever the French gave us fair play, it was surely upon the present occasion; they allowed us to negociate and to fight; to hesitate between war

and peace; and to throw away many precious years in armed truce and pacific hostility; and it astonished all Europe, not that they interposed at length, but that they did not interpose sooner. Besides, as they had long assisted the Americans in an underhand manner, the open avowal of this assistance was the greatest advantage that, in our present circumstances, we could possibly obtain. It revived the decaying ardour of the nation, united every well-wisher to his country in a common cause, and called forth the most vigorous efforts, both public and private, that the hopes of plunder, interest, resentment, and a sense of national honour could inspire.

The effects of this spirit in augmenting our armaments by sea and land were soon visible. If we may credit the words of those who presided over the navy, in a short time we had, besides a vast number of armed vessels and privateers, two hundred and twenty-eight ships of the line, frigates and sloops in commission. Of these, fifty ships of the line were employed for the protection of Great Britain; the whole number of vessels on the coast of America amounted, it was said by men in office, to one hundred and thirty; Admiral Barrington was stationed at the Leeward Islands; Sir Peter Parker at Jamaica; the men of war appointed to attend the Senegal fleet, were ordered to remain on that coast for the protection of trade; and Admiral Duff's squadron in the Mediterranean was reinforced with several capital ships. Nor were the French slow in their preparations. They had assembled a powerful squadron at Brest, and another at Toulon; and their troops crowded the sea-ports, and covered the northern parts of the kingdom.

While these preparations were going forward in Europe, nothing decisive had happened in America. The king's army had remained quiet in their winter-quarters tolerably well supplied with provisions; and General Washington's troops continued hutted at

Valley Forge, where it is said they suffered intolerable hardships. The greater part of the fleet remained at Rhode Island, from which detachments were sent to cruise before the principal sea-ports of the continent, where, as well as in the West Indies, they were successful in making a great number of captures. As the spring approached, and the navigation of the Delaware became practicable, General Howe sent various detachments to range the country round Philadelphia, in order to open the communication for bringing in provisions, and to collect forage for the army. All these expeditions were successful; and on the 7th of May Major Maitland was detached with the second battalion of light infantry in flat-boats, protected by three gallies and other armed vessels commanded by Captain Henry of the navy, to destroy the American ships lying in the river between Philadelphia and Trenton; which was effected with great success. On the 25th of the same month was carried on a similar expedition from Rhode Island under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Campbell and Captain Clayton of the navy. They destroyed one hundred and twenty-five boats, collected by the rebels in Hickamanet River, together with a galley under repair, destined for an invasion of that island. Another detachment from the men of war destroyed the rebel vessels in Warren Creek; and a third burnt the saw-mills on a creek near Taunton River, employed in preparing materials to build boats and other suitable craft for the purpose of the before-mentioned invasion.

These operations of the *petite guerre* closed the military career of General Sir William Howe, who resigned the command to Sir Henry Clinton, and returned to England. The first operation of the new commander was to evacuate Philadelphia, pursuant to the instructions which he had received from the minister. This measure, though attended with great danger on account of the neighbourhood of Washing-

ton's army of twenty thousand men, and though accompanied with a certain degree of disgrace necessarily attached to the abandoning of a town, the possession of which had been acquired at such an expence of blood and treasure, was yet deemed necessary to enable his Majesty's forces to resist the united efforts of the Americans and their new and powerful allies. On the 18th of June the army began their march, and proceeded to Gloucester Point, and from thence crossed the Delaware in safety through the excellent disposition made by the admiral to secure their passage. They continued their march towards New York till the 28th, without any interruption from the enemy, excepting what was occasioned by their having destroyed every bridge on the road. Then the rebels began to approach nearer the royal army, not in order to risk a general engagement, but to harass their march, and if possible to seize their baggage, which, as the country admitted of but one route, consisted of a train extending nearly twelve miles. The judicious dispositions made by General Clinton, and the bravery of his troops, compelled the assailants to retire on every side. The army marched without farther opposition to Navesink, where they waited two days, in hopes that General Washington might be induced to take post near Middletown, where he might have been attacked to advantage. But as he still declined affording an opportunity of coming to a general action, preparations were made for passing to Sandy Hook Island by a bridge of flat boats, which, by the extraordinary efforts of the navy, was soon completed, and over which the whole army passed in about two hours time on the 5th of July, the horses and cattle having been previously transported. They were afterwards carried up to New York; while the fleet, the proceedings of which had been regulated by the motions of the army, anchored off Staten Island. This station was less disadvantageous than that of the Delaware,

in case the French fleet at Toulon should escape to America. This unfortunately had happened; M. D'Estaing having sailed from Toulon the 13th of April, with twelve ships of the line, besides frigates and store ships. The fact was known to the ministry the 27th of the same month; but no effectual measure had been taken in consequence of it. It was several days even before a council was called to take this important matter into consideration. The succeeding month was spent in naval reviews and in parliamentary debates, in the course of which, the ministers acknowledged that it was judged improper to detach any part of our fleet, until the internal safety of Great Britain was sufficiently provided for. Meanwhile D'Estaing's squadron rode mistress of the sea, and pursuing their course to America, arrived on the coast of Virginia the 5th of July. On the 8th they anchored at the entrance of the Delaware, and on the 11th arrived on the northern shore of New Jersey.

Lord Howe made no delay in taking the necessary measures to oppose their attempts, until the expected reinforcement under the command of Admiral Byron should arrive from England. But nothing could be more blameable than the late departure, or more unfortunate than the tedious voyage of that admiral. He sailed the 5th of June, and worked out of the channel against a fresh wind at south-west. Nothing very material happened till the 3d of July, when the squadron was separated in 49 degrees 4 minutes north latitude, and 26 degrees 48 minutes west longitude from the Lizard, in a most violent gale at north, accompanied with heavy rains. At eight o'clock next evening, the storm abated, and of a squadron of fourteen vessels, only the Princess Royal, Invincible, Culloden, and Guadaloupe were to be seen. On the 6th the Culloden was ordered to look out to the north-east quarter, and the Guadaloupe to the south-west. The Guadaloupe joined again the next afternoon, and kept company

till the 21st, when she and the Invincible separated in a thick fog on the banks of Newfoundland. On the 5th of August, the admiral fell in with the Culloden, after being separated a month, but she parted company again in the night of the 11th. The Princess Royal being thus left by herself, the admiral continued his best endeavours to get to Sandy Hook, but the prevailing wind being from the south-west to west, he made very slow progress. On the 18th of August the crew of the Princess Royal perceived twelve sail of ships at anchor to leeward, distant about eight miles. These were soon discovered to be part of D'Estaing's squadron, and as the admiral could neither get into the road of Sandy Hook nor of New York, without passing through the midst of the enemy, he bore away for Halifax, where he arrived the 26th of August, and found the Culloden, which had reached that port before him. The rest of the squadron afterwards dropped in gradually there, or into the harbour of New York, their crews very sickly and their furniture much impaired.

Meanwhile D'Estaing's squadron had, on the afternoon of the 12th of July, come to anchor off Shrewsbury Inlet, about four miles from Sandy Hook. They consisted of twelve sail of two decked ships, and three frigates. One of the large ships had ninety guns, one eighty, six were of seventy-four, three of sixty-four, one of fifty; the least of the frigates mounted thirty-six guns; and their complement in men was above eleven thousand. To oppose this formidable squadron, Lord Howe had only six sail of sixty-four gun ships, three of fifty, two of forty, with some frigates and sloops, for the most part poorly manned. In this great disparity of force the spirit of British seamen blazed forth with more than its usual lustre. A thousand volunteers from the transports presented themselves to man the fleet. Such was their ardour, that many who had been detained as necessary for the watch in their respective

ships, were found concealed in the boats which carried their more fortunate companions on board the several men of war. The army were equally forward and impatient to signalize their zeal in a line of service, which, independent of the spirit that animated them, would have been extremely disagreeable to men unaccustomed to a sea life. Though scarcely recruited from the fatigues of a long, toilsome, and dangerous march, they were eager to cast lots to decide which should be appointed to embark as marines. The masters and mates of the merchantmen shewed equal alacrity; several taking their stations at the guns with the common sailors, others putting to sea in their small swift sailing shallops, to alarm such ships as might be bound for the port, and to look out for the long-expected arrival of Byron's reinforcement. One, of the name of Duncan, with a spirit of disinterested patriotism, that would have done honour to the first names of Greece or Rome in the most brilliant period of those celebrated republics, wrote for leave to convert his vessel, the whole hopes of his fortune, into a fire-ship, to be conducted by himself; rejecting all idea of any other recompence, than the honour of sacrificing his life, services, and expectations, to an ardent love of his country.

Lord Howe, encouraged by the noble enthusiasm of every one who bore the name of Briton, and which could never have been executed under a commander who was not universally beloved and respected, lost not a moment in forming the disposition of his fleet, with determined purpose to resist the most vigorous exertions of the enemy. While the French admiral was employed in sounding the bar, his lordship placed his ships in the strongest situation the channel within the Hook would admit. He sounded its several depths in person; he ascertained the different setting of the currents; communicated his discoveries to the officers of the most experience, and, after hearing their several opinions, formed such plans of ar-

rangement as seemed best adapted to counteract the enemy's designs. He lengthened his line, which was already formed of the Isis, Eagle, Somerset, Trident, Nonsuch, and Ardent, by adding the Leviathan store-ship, manned by volunteers for the occasion, and supplied with cannon from the train. One battery of two howitzers, and another of three eighteen pounders, were erected on the point, round which the enemy must have passed, to enter the channel.

During these vigorous preparations, the admiral had the daily mortification to see several of the English traders fall into the hands of the French. The Stanly armed brig, with five prizes, unfortunately anchored in the middle of their fleet, the darkness of the night concealing their ensigns, and was boarded before she discovered her mistake. If some traders and advice boats had not escaped over the flats, the Hope, with a convoy from Halifax, would likewise have been taken, and added to the general loss and indignation.

The French squadron had maintained a constant intercourse with the shore by means of boats and small vessels: which was observed to cease on the 21st of July. On the day following they appeared under way. The wind was favourable for crossing the bar, the spring tides were at the highest, and every circumstance concurred for attacking the British fleet to the greatest advantage. The admiral, therefore, had reason to expect one of the hottest actions ever fought between the two nations. Had the English men of war been defeated, the transports and victuallers must have been an easy acquisition; and the army, of course, compelled to surrender on any terms the enemy might impose. But D'Estaing seems not to have possessed sufficient courage to contend for so great a stake; and at three o'clock in the afternoon he bore off to the southward, to the great mortification of our gallant seamen, who, confident of victory, only longed for a battle.

Instructions were immediately dispatched to the advice-boats stationed without on the flats, to follow and observe the motions of the French fleet. It was generally supposed that the enemy's design was to force the port of New York, and that their bearing to the southward was owing to the circumstances of the weather. But advice was received, that they were seen on the morning of the 23d, in the latitude of the Delaware. Soon after this intelligence, the English fleet received an unexpected accession of force by the arrival of the Renown from the West Indies; and so extremely inferior were they in every respect to the enemy, that the addition of a single fifty gun ship was a matter of general exultation. Such was the mortifying debility of the British fleet, while the first lord of the Admiralty triumphed in parliament in the superiority of Lord Howe's squadron over that of M. D'Estaing.

The Dispatch arrived from Halifax the 26th of July, which brought no intelligence of Byron, but informed the admiral, that the Raisonable and Centurion were both on their way to New York. These, as well as the Cornwall, formed a most seasonable reinforcement.

It was now known for certain, that the French fleet had sailed for Rhode Island. On the 29th, they had been seen off Newport harbour; the same day two of their frigates had entered the Seconnet passage; next morning two line of battle ships had run up the Naraganset passage; and the remainder of the squadron were at anchor without Brenton's Lodge, about five miles from the town. In this divided state of the enemy, Lord Howe, notwithstanding the great inferiority of his force, even after the reinforcement, determined to save the British garrison at Rhode Island. Two additional fire-ships were constructed by his orders, and all his squadron was ready for sea by the 1st of August. The weather prevented, however, his arrival at Rhode Island till the evening of the 9th.

By this time D'Estaing had entered the harbour under an easy sail, cannonading the town and batteries as he passed. His situation, therefore, was much stronger than that on which the English had depended at Sandy Hook. The rebels, as they were then denominated, also were possessed of the left hand shore, the whole length of the harbour, which gave them an opportunity not only to annoy the British fleet from the heights of Conanicut, near to which it must have approached but, during the attack against D'Estaing, to bring all their guns to bear upon the English ships from the northern extremity of that island.

Next morning the wind blew directly out of the harbour, and in a short time the French squadron appeared standing out to sea with all their sails on board. Lord Howe immediately made the signal to get under way, and endeavoured by several masterly manœuvres, to throw the enemy to leeward. The weather gage was a matter of the utmost importance, as, unless he could obtain that, the fire-ships, in which were placed the greatest hopes in contending with such a superior force, could not be brought into action; and the frigates, which had charge of them, would likewise have been prevented from engaging. But the attention of the French was as great to preserve this advantage, as the solicitude of the English to acquire it. Night put an end to the manœuvres on both sides, and next morning presented the two fleets in the same situation with regard to the weather, but at somewhat greater distance. The wind still being to the eastward, blowing fresh, and there appearing no prospect of change, Lord Howe, therefore, ordered the frigates, which had the charge of the fire-ships, to be informed, that, should the enemy continue to preserve the weather gage, he should wait their approach with the squadron formed in a line of battle ahead, from the wind to the starboard.

At the same time, he took a step upon which no officer could have ventured, whose character for per-

sonal bravery was less fully established. It is well known, that a commander-in-chief, stationed in the line, cannot, after the action is commenced, observe the general conduct of the battle. His services are then of no more avail than those of any other officer, equally brave and expert in the management of a single ship. But, as Lord Howe had on this occasion to engage under so many disadvantages, it was necessary to seek resource in his superior skill and activity, to be ready to profit of every fortuitous occurrence, and to compensate for the inferiority of his force by his address in applying it. He, therefore, shifted his flag on board the Apollo frigate, leaving the Eagle in the centre, and moved to a convenient distance to take a view of the whole line. Having by this gained a nearer view of the French fleet, and observed that they had placed their strongest ships in the van, he strengthened the rear of the British to receive their attack. About four o'clock, the French admiral altered his bearing, and new formed his line to engage to leeward. Lord Howe crossed through the interstices of the English line with the frigates and fire-ships, and, in a few minutes after, made a signal for his ships to shorten sail, and close to the centre. The engagement seemed now to be decided on by the commanders of both squadrons: but in a short time the French again altered their course, and bearing to the southward were speedily, from the state of the weather, entirely out of sight.

The wind blew so hard that it was necessary for the British to lie to all night to prevent the separation of their fleet. But the gale increased to such violence, that, notwithstanding this precaution, the blue division was totally separated from the rest; the centre and van with most of the frigates still keeping together. The Apollo, in which the admiral was embarked, having lost her fore-mast in the night, he shifted his flag next day on board the Phœnix, Captain Hammond, then in company with the Centurion,

Ardent, Richmond, Vigilant, and Roebuck. The whole fleet was greatly disabled by the storm, their sails shattered, their masts sprung, and the fire-ships rendered by the wet totally unfit for service. But, though the elements warred against them, they failed not to assail their enemies wherever the opportunity offered. On the evening of the 13th, Captain Dawson, in the Renown of fifty guns, fell in with the Languedoc, carrying off M. D'Estaing, totally dismasted. Having run close under her lee, he gave her all his upper deck guns; then, standing off to windward, opened his lower ports, and, at half a cable's length, poured in three broadsides. The darkness obliged him to lie to for the night, in the resolution of renewing the attack next morning; but at the first dawn six French ships hove in sight, three of which remained with the wreck, and the other three gave him chace. The same evening, Commodore Hotham would have taken the Tonant, had it not been for the intervention of other French ships.

A circumstance of another kind prevented the Cæsar, a seventy-four gun ship, from becoming a prize to the Isis, after an action as brilliant as any on record in the history of the English navy. Captain Rayner of the Isis, discovering the force of his opponent, at first endeavoured to escape her; but she proved to be the fastest sailer. In a short time they were close on board each other, and engaged for an hour and a half within pistol shot. Notwithstanding the extraordinary disproportion of force, the address and intrepidity of the English captain was so happily seconded by the ardour of his officers and men, that the Frenchman was forced to put before the wind. The Isis was incapable of pursuing him, being so much shattered in her masts and rigging. M. Bougainville, the French captain, lost his arm, the first lieutenant his leg, and they acknowledged seventy men killed and wounded; whereas the Isis had but one man killed, and fourteen wounded. After these

honourable but partial engagements, the English ships sailed for the general rendezvous, which the admiral had appointed at the Hook, where they found their consorts almost as much shattered by the storm, as they had been by the storm and the French fleet together.

During the time requisite for repairing the disabled ships, the Experiment being sent to explore the state of affairs at Newport, brought intelligence the 23d of August, that D'Estaing's squadron had again returned to Rhode Island. Lieutenant Stanhope arrived next day, having with great gallantry passed through the body of the French fleet in a whale boat, conveying more complete information of the situation of the enemy. He had left them at anchor at the harbour's mouth, which it was not probable they had entered, as the wind had all along continued at east. The rebels, to the number of twenty thousand, had advanced within fifteen hundred yards of our works. From them, however, Sir Robert Pigot, who commanded the English garrison, apprehended little danger; but should the French fleet come in, the governor ordered his messenger to say, it would make an alarming change.

Lord Howe lost not a moment, upon this information, to set sail for the relief of the place. But he was met at sea by the Galatea, with dispatches from General Pigot, acquainting him, that D'Estaing had sailed from his anchorage, and steered in a course for Boston. His lordship, therefore, detached the Nautilus, Sphinx, and Vigilant, to Rhode Island, and proceeded with the remainder of his squadron in quest of the enemy. As it was not probable, that the French would attempt to navigate their large ships, in their disabled state, through the south channel, within George's Bank, his lordship was in hopes that, by following that course, he might intercept their passage to Boston Bay. But, on entering that bay the 30th, he found, to his great mortification, that

the enemy had anticipated his arrival. The next day he endeavoured to take advantage of a leading wind to view their position, but was prevented by the St. Alban's running on shore near the point of Cape Cod. He effected his purpose, however, on the 1st of September, and, judging that no attempt could be made against them, in their present situation, with the smallest prospect of success, he stood off to sea, in order to disengage his ships from the navigation of the coast, which was extremely dangerous, the wind blowing fresh from the east, and the appearance of the weather, in other respects, unfavourable. When he arrived at Newport, he found that the measures which he had taken, had been effectual in relieving that important garrison; the rebel general, Sullivan, on the unexpected retreat of D'Estaing, having retired from before the place after uttering many bitter reproaches against the brittle faith of his new allies. Lord Howe afterwards returned to Sandy Hook, and, his health being infirm, surrendered the powers with which he was intrusted, to Rear-admiral Gambier, and set sail for England, where he arrived the 25th of October.

The naval operations in Europe, though far less complicated, were not more decisive than in America. The French, as early as the month of May, had in the road of Brest nineteen ships of seventy-four guns, three of eighty, and fourteen frigates, commanded by the Count D'Orvilliers, lieutenant-general of the marine. The Duke De Chartres, eldest son of the first prince of the blood, commanded an eighty gun ship, and gave the splendour of his name to this formidable equipment. The British fleet,* destined to act

* It consisted of the following ships: The Victory of 100 guns, Admiral Keppel: the Queen of 90 guns, Vice-admiral Harland; the Ocean of 90 guns, Vice-admiral Palliser; the Sandwich of 90 guns; the Prince George of 90 guns; the Foudroyant, Shrewsbury, Egmont, Valiant, Courageux, Ramillies, Hector, Monarque, Elizabeth, Berwick, and Cumberland, of 74 guns each: the Ame-

against the main force of the enemy, was committed to Admiral Keppel, who sailed from St. Helen's the 8th of June, with unlimited discretionary powers. Nothing particular happened until the 17th, when the English fleet being in line of battle, twenty-five miles distant from the Lizard, they perceived two ships and two tenders surveying the fleet, and watching its motions. The situation of the admiral was somewhat embarrassing; for, by commencing hostilities without express orders, the whole blame of the war might be laid upon him: but, considering that it was necessary to stop these frigates, as well to obtain intelligence, as to prevent its being communicated, he immediately directed the whole fleet to chace; and between five and six in the evening the Milford had got close alongside the leeward ship, which proved to be a large French frigate called the Licorne, of thirty-two guns, and two hundred and thirty men. Her commander could not be persuaded by civil words to bring his vessel to the English fleet, so that it was necessary to fire a gun, which made him prepare to obey the English officer's request. The other French ship was pursued by the Arethusa, and Alert cutter, and at some distance astern, the Valiant and Monarque. Meanwhile the French frigate which had been overtaken by the Milford, and was now attended by the America, changed her course and went upon a different tack, with a view to escape. One of the English ships attending her, fired a shot across her, which was immediately followed by the French frigate's discharging a whole broadside into the America, at the very moment Lord Longford was upon the gunwale talking to the French

rica, Exeter, Stirling Castle, Robuste, and Bienfaisant, of 64 guns each; Arethusa frigate of 30 guns; Fox and Proserpine frigates; the Alert and Meredith armed cutters, and the Vulcan fire-ship; in all 27 sail; which were afterwards joined by some others.—— See Appendix, No. IX. for a complete list of the British and French fleets.

captain in the most civil strain. The latter then struck his colours; and though his conduct merited the fire of the America, Lord Longford's magnanimity disdained to take vengeance on an enemy whom he had entirely in his power.

On the 19th, the Valiant and Monarque which had chaced the other French ship, were seen making for the fleet with a disabled ship in tow, which was soon perceived to be the Arethusa with her main mast gone, and much shattered in other respects. The Arethusa had, on the night of the 17th, come up with her chace, which proved to be the Belle Poule, a large French frigate with heavy metal. The French captain peremptorily refused to bring to, which obliged Captain Marshall of the Arethusa to fire a shot, which was immediately returned by a whole broadside from the French frigate. This brought on an engagement, which lasted upwards of two hours. The action was contested with equal obstinacy on both sides. The French frigate was superior in weight of metal, and in the number of men; advantages which she stood in need of: at length the Arethusa being much shattered in her masts, sails, and rigging, and there being little wind to govern her, she could not prevent the French ship from getting into a small bay, where boats at day-light came out and towed her into safety. The Arethusa had eight men killed, and thirty-six wounded. The French acknowledge forty slain, and forty-seven wounded, on board the Belle Poule. Captain Fairfax, of the Alert cutter, was more fortunate, having taken, after a gallant engagement, a French schooner of ten carriage guns, and ten swivels, that attended the Belle Poule. And on the 18th, the Foudroyant, Courageux, and Robuste, had chaced and taken the Pallas, a French frigate of thirty-two guns, and two hundred and twenty men.

From papers found on board the Pallas and Licorne, French frigates, the admiral discovered, that

the enemy's fleet in Brest water consisted of thirty-two sail of the line, and about a dozen frigates: whereas his own consisted only of twenty of the former, and three of the latter. In this perplexing situation, he considered the probable consequences of risking an engagement against such odds, also the critical and hazardous situation the nation might be reduced to in case of a defeat, as the dock yards, and whole shipping in the ports of the channel would, in that case be at the mercy of the enemy: therefore, though he foresaw that to come home without orders might be fatal to his own reputation, yet he resolved to risk that for the safety of his country, and accordingly returned to Spithead the 27th June for a reinforcement.

At this juncture, two fleets from the West Indies, with some ships from the Levant, arrived, which afforded a supply of seamen; by this seasonable relief, the admiral was enabled to sail again on the 9th July, with twenty-four ships of the line, and was joined on his way down the channel by six more. The French king in the mean time had issued orders for reprisals on the ships of Great Britain, assigning the capture of the frigates, and our engagement with the Belle Poule as the ostensible reasons; thus nothing of war was wanting between the two nations, but the ceremony of a proclamation. The French fleet, consisting of thirty-two ships of the line, and a number of frigates, had sailed from Brest the 8th July; they were divided into three squadrons, under Count D'Orvilliers, commander-in-chief, Count Duchaffault, and the Duke De Chartres, a prince of the blood, assisted by three other admirals. On their departure from Brest, the Lively frigate, which had been cruising to watch their motions, was captured, being so much entangled amongst them, that she could not escape,

The British fleet was also divided into three squadrons, commanded by Admiral Keppel, the Vice-

admirals Sir Robert Harland and Sir Hugh Palliser: Rear-admiral Campbell, from friendship to Admiral Keppel, condescended to act as first captain on board the Victory. The two fleets came within sight of each other in the afternoon of the 23d of July, in the Bay of Biscay, about thirty-five leagues to the westward of Brest. At first the French admiral, from his movements, seemed desirous to bring on an engagement, probably supposing the British fleet to be nearly of equal force with what it was about four weeks before; but on coming nearer he discovered his mistake, and from that moment he evidently determined to avoid an action. This plan he adhered to for the three following days, notwithstanding every effort used by the British admiral to bring him to action; which the latter ardently wished for, before the East and West India fleets, which were expected about this time, should arrive, finding it would be difficult to protect them effectually, as the French fleet overspread many leagues of the ocean. All the advantage he could obtain in four days was to separate two of the enemy's line-of-battle ships which returned to Brest, and could not after rejoin their fleets: this placed both fleets upon an equality as to line-of-battle ships. On the 24th the British admiral threw out the signal to chace to windward, which was continued the two following days, keeping at the same time his ships as much connected as the nature of a pursuit would admit, in order to seize the first opportunity of bringing the enemy to a close engagement; but this proved ineffectual, the French cautiously avoiding coming to an action, and in their manœuvres shewing great address and nautical knowledge. About four o'clock in the morning of the 27th of July, the French were discovered to windward about five miles distance. Admiral Keppel finding some of his fleet too much scattered, made signals to collect them together, still continuing to follow the enemy. About ten o'clock

a heavy dark squall came on, which continued nearly an hour; when it cleared up, the two fleets, by a shift of wind, had neared each other, but on different tacks. About half past eleven the signal was hove out for a general engagement, at which time the ships as they came up began firing. The French attacked at some distance the headmost of Sir Robert Harland's division, which led the van. Their fire was warmly returned by almost every ship in the fleet, as they ranged along the line; and notwithstanding it had been extended by the chace, they were soon engaged, as the two fleets passed each other. The cannonade was very heavy, and did considerable execution on both sides. The enemy, as usual, fired chiefly at the rigging, which crippled many of the British ships, while Mr. Keppel continued the old way of fighting, by firing principally at the hulls of the enemy's ships with good success.

The action, for the short space it lasted (about three hours), was very warm. The loss on the side of the British was one hundred and thirty-three killed, and three hundred and seventy-three wounded; among the latter were four officers, none of whom died. The French concealed their loss as much as possible; they acknowledged, however, one hundred and fifty killed, and about six hundred wounded. From the manner of engaging it is probable they lost more men than the British, perhaps double the number.

After the different ships had repaired their damages, the commander in chief, about three o'clock in the afternoon, made the signal to form the line of battle a-head. The red division, commanded by Sir Robert Harland, immediately obeyed; but the blue division never came into the line during the rest of the day, Sir Hugh Palliser alleging, that his ship the Formidable was so much disabled that he could not obey the signal.

Admiral Keppel's letter to the Admiralty, prior to the engagement, mentioned his being for several days

in chace of the enemy, from which the public expected that, if an action should happen, it would prove a decisive one; but, on reading the Gazette account of this affair when it was over, and finding that the enemy had escaped with their whole fleet, not a ship being captured or destroyed, they were greatly chagrined and disappointed.

Both sides claimed the victory* in this undecisive action. The French, soon after the engagement, drew up in a line of battle to leeward, and continued during the afternoon in that position, with an intention, they assert, to have renewed the engagement; but it is more probable, with a view to bring off their crippled ships in the night, which must have been abandoned if they had fled sooner.

The French Gazette relates, that the English stole away in the night, without showing any lights; and in the morning, the French having no expectation of being able to renew the action, and finding themselves unexpectedly off Ushant, by the effects of the winds and currents, while they supposed themselves near thirty leagues from any land, they took that opportunity of putting into Brest in order to land their wounded men.

Although the English had no great reason to boast of victory, yet the French account is totally false; for it appeared by the evidence of witnesses upon oath, in the subsequent trials of Keppel and Palliser, that the French, on purpose to deceive, stationed soon after it was dark, three of their best sailing ships in a line, at considerable distances from each other, with lights, in order to have the appearance of their whole fleet. This finesse had the intended effect; their fleet stole away in the night, and the three ships followed them at day-light in the morning.

The British fleet was nearly in a line of battle all night, excepting the Formidable and some other ships

* See Admiral Keppel's letter to the Admiralty, giving an account of the action. Appendix, No. X.

of Sir Hugh Palliser's division; both Admiral Keppel and Sir Robert Harland had distinguishing lights out, and also a light at their bowsprit end. Sir Hugh Palliser, not being in his station, had no lights, neither in that situation would it have been proper, as it might have misled some of the ships of his own and other divisions. The men were on deck all night in every ship of the fleet, quartered at their guns, ready to renew the action in the morning, expecting that the French were also inclined to fight; but in this they found themselves mistaken, their whole fleet being out of sight, excepting the three ships abovementioned, which were also at too great a distance to be overtaken.

To whatever cause the want of success in this engagement was owing, it is evident that a fair opportunity was lost of striking a blow against the maritime power of France, which might have been decisive.

The commander discovering in the morning that the French had escaped, that many ships of his own fleet had suffered greatly in their masts and rigging, and that there was not the least prospect of overtaking the enemy before they could reach Brest, he had no alternative but to bring the fleet home to be repaired. He arrived off Plymouth on the 31st of July.

Admiral Keppel put to sea again with the same number of ships and commanders, on the 22d of August. The French had left Brest some days before, but instead of looking out for the British fleet, they bore away for Cape Finisterre, leaving their trade at the mercy of our fleet and privateers. Many of their merchantmen accordingly fell into the hands of the English. The British admiral continued cruising in the bay till the 28th of October, when he returned to Portsmouth, and the French got to Brest a few days after.

The commissioners appointed to settle matters amicably with the Americans had so little effect in sus-

pending the military or naval operations across the Atlantic, that it was not necessary to interrupt the thread of our narration by giving an account of their proceedings. But as the proposals which they were empowered to make, altered entirely the object of the war, it is necessary to explain the purport of their commission, the means used for giving it effect, and the sentiments with which it was received. They sailed the 21st of April in his Majesty's ship the Trident, and their arrival in America was notified the 9th of June, in a letter from Sir Henry Clinton to General Washington, intimating, that the earl of Carlisle, William Eden, and George Johnstone, three of the commissioners for restoring peace between Great Britain and America, were then at Philadelphia, and requesting a passport for their secretary Dr. Ferguson, with a letter from them to Congress. General Washington declined granting this request until the pleasure of Congress should be known; but while that assembly were deliberating on the expediency of the measure referred to them, an express arrived from the general, carrying a letter from the commissioners addressed to his excellency Henry Laurens the president, and other members of the Congress.

This letter, after much debate, was read. It contained the powers with which the commissioners were furnished to suspend hostilities, to remove grievances, and to grant the requests which the colonies had frequently made on the subject of acts of parliament passed since the year 1763, and to settle a plan of policy for the future government of America, which should obtain force, when ratified by the parliament of Great Britain; the whole strain of the letter is highly respectful. The commissioners declare, it is their inclination "to establish the powers of the legislatures in each particular state of America, to settle its revenue, its civil and military establishment, and to allow it the exercise of a perfect freedom of le-

gislation and internal government." They also declare themselves ready "to concur in measures towards extending every freedom to trade that the respective interests of Great Britain and America can require; to agree that no military force shall be kept up in the different states of North America without the consent of the General Congress, or particular assemblies; and to concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and raise the value and credit of the paper circulation." To these advantageous and condescending proposals the Congress answered in terms of great haughtiness. The commissioners proceeded on a supposition, that the Americans were subjects of Great Britain, an idea utterly inadmissible. The commissioners mentioned the insidious interposition of France, an expression so disrespectful to his Most Christian Majesty, the good and great ally of the United States, that nothing but an earnest desire to spare the farther effusion of blood could have persuaded Congress to allow the reading of a paper drawn up with such bold indecency of language. They observe, however, that "they will be contented to enter upon a consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce with Great Britain, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when his Britannic Majesty shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. The only solid proof of this disposition will be an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these states, or the withdrawing of his fleets and armies."

Such were the fruits of a negociation, proposed with much triumph by ministers, and accepted with great unanimity by parliament. By the same fatal misconduct, or the same unexampled misfortune, which had marked every step of the proceedings of the British administration with regard to the colonies, the army had orders to evacuate Philadelphia at the time of the arrival of the commissioners. At the moment that we held out terms of peace, we disco-

vered our inability to continue the war with effect. Such a remarkable coincidence naturally damped the hopes of our negociators as well as of all those who were still attached to the interests of the mother country. The English general had expected to receive a powerful reinforcement of troops; he received commissioners who had powers to negociate away the principal objects for which he fought. The commissioners expected to add weight and persuasion to their proposals by being seconded by the active operations of the army. They were obliged to retire with that army, which now abandoned its conquests, and, instead of aspiring at advantage, discovered great merit in being able to make a retreat without sustaining any irreparable loss.

Thus it happened by a fatality unknown in any other age or country, that the proposals of the commissioners damped the spirits and checked the ardour of the troops, while the conduct of the troops, however necessary and proper in itself, weakened, disgraced, and vilified the proposals of the commissioners. After this inauspicious beginning, it could scarcely be expected that any future measures should be attended with better success. The commissioners, however, continued in America four months, publishing proclamations of grace and pardon to those who despised their power; offering friendship and union to those who avowed that they were not only divided from us for ever, but leagued with our worst enemies; and endeavouring to treat with assemblies, or correspond with private persons, all which endeavours were rejected with marks of ineffable contempt.

At length, after being exposed to such indignities as we do not recollect that the ministers of any independent nation ever submitted to among a civilized people, and after condescending to such degrading language of their constituents, as was never held by the representatives of any kingdom upon earth, they

determined to return home; previously to which, they published a manifesto, dated at New York the 3d of October, 1778. This contained a recapitulation of the advantages which they were empowered to confer, with an appeal from the resolutions of the Congress to the inhabitants at large, and a denunciation of a more destructive war than had hitherto been carried on, since, if the British colonies were to become an accession to France, prudence would dictate to Great Britain the necessity of rendering that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy. Soon after the publication of this paper, which was not more effectual than the rest of their proceedings, they set sail for England.

The military and naval operations, it has been observed, were little interrupted by this extraordinary negociation. The advanced season of the year, however, prevented those active and powerful exertions which alone could produce any decisive effect; the spirits and vigour of the troops and seamen seemed gradually to languish, and their operations naturally degenerated into the *petite guerre*. In those partial hostilities, the king's troops were generally successful. They destroyed several magazines belonging to the enemy; laid waste the possessions of some of the most obstinate of the rebels; and demolished, by the assistance of the ships, some villages which were built for the reception of prize goods, and the accommodation of the sailors belonging to the American privateers. But no general engagement took place, nor was any thing decisive performed by the English or French squadrons, both of which suffered greater injury from the weather than from the assaults of the enemy. The surrender of Dominica by the English was, in some measure, compensated by the taking of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which were the only settlements the French possessed in the northern parts of America.

Thus every thing seemed to tend to an equality;

and we had the mortification to mourn over our loss in the course of the war, without any prospect of being soon able to repair it. We had already lost two ships of the line, thirteen frigates, and seven sloops of war.* The merchant-ships taken by the American privateers, were nearly a thousand in number, and valued at nearly two millions sterling. We had not taken one capital ship from the French, nor, excepting the Pallas and Licorne frigates, any ship of war worth mentioning. After the naval force of the Americans seemed to be totally destroyed, it arose more than once from its ruins, and harassed our trade as much as before. The value of American captures, however, made by English vessels, exceeded, by several hundred thousand pounds, the loss

* LIST OF ENGLISH MEN OF WAR TAKEN OR DESTROYED IN THE AMERICAN WAR.

Ships.	Guns.	
Augusta	64	burnt in the Delaware;
Somerset	64	lost on the coast of New England;
Repulse	32	lost off Bermudas;
Orpheus, Flora, Juno, Lark, each of	32	sunk or burnt at Rhode Island;
Minerva	32	taken by the French in the West Indies;
Acteon	28	burnt at Sullivan's Island;
Fox	28	taken by the French off Brest.—This ship had before been taken by the Americans, and re-taken by the Flora;
Lively	20	taken by the French off Brest;
Cerberus	28	burnt at Rhode Island;
Mermaid	28	run a-shore by the French off Cape Henlopen;
Active	28	taken by the French in the West Indies;
Syren	28	destroyed by the Americans;
Drake	18	taken by an American privateer;
Falcon, King's Fisher	18	sunk or burnt at Rhode Island;
Pomona	18	lost in the West Indies;
Merlin	14	burnt in the Delaware;
Senegal, Thunder bomb	14	taken by the French off Rhode Island.

which the British merchants had sustained; and when we take into the account the captures from the French, particularly the Modeste and Carnatic Indiamen, each of which was worth near half a million, the balance will appear to be considerably in favour of Great Britain. But, in estimating national advantages, we must not compensate the loss of English merchants by the gains of English seamen. The latter, being chiefly the profit of a few individuals, is not to be put in competition with the benefit of the great body of merchants and manufacturers; nor does it even indemnify the public for the damage and diminution which the navy itself has suffered by the misfortunes of the sea, and sustained from the efforts of the enemy.

In taking a general retrospect of the conduct of the war, in as far as the navy is concerned, it appears that the commanders in chief, as well as the captains of particular vessels, acted, for the most part, with their usual bravery and wisdom. Whatever aspersions might be thrown on those who superintended the management of our marine, no dishonour was fixed on the British flag, nor was the ancient glory of our seamen in the least tarnished. Their spirited ardour and intrepidity did not, indeed, produce the effects that usually resulted from them. But we are not to account for this, by supposing any diminution of those eminent qualities for which they have been so long distinguished. The inauspicious and fatal influence which prevailed in a high department continued to give one proof after another, that no people can be great without being virtuous. The iniquities of the ministers were visited on the nation——

Quidquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.

But that very circumstance which occasioned our perplexity and distress, the unhappy superintendence of our naval affairs, is what ought, at present, to af-

ford us just grounds of consolation. If our boundless supplies and powerful armaments had been managed and directed by the wisdom and virtue of ministers, and if, notwithstanding this most favourable circumstance, the exertion of our forces by sea and land had been unable to maintain with honour the cause in which we were engaged, we should have just reason to despair; because it is plain, that in such a case we could not expect, by any alteration of management, to defeat the malignant purposes of our natural and inveterate enemies. But, if our fleets and armies were condemned to reluctant inactivity at the beginning of the war; if, while we had the Americans only to contend with, we took no resolutions becoming the dignity of a great nation; if, while our enemies prepared for hostility, by augmenting their troops and equipping their squadrons, our own were allowed to rot, languish, and moulder away, in a state the most deplorable; if, after the message delivered by the French ambassador, which was in effect, a declaration of war, which had roused the spirit of the nation, our ministers still remained profoundly sunk in lethargic security, totally incapable of those vigorous measures which their situation required, and in every instance behind hand with our enemies; what could we possibly expect from such a conduct but misfortune, disgrace, and complicated calamity? A French fleet was equipped at Brest, and another at Toulon. The destination of the latter appeared plainly to every body, not concerned in administration, to be for America. But the first lord of the Admiralty remained in doubtful suspense. He knew not what part of the empire might be attacked. He continued motionless himself, and received patiently the hostile assault; like an unskilful boxer, intending to cover the part on which he had already received a blow, and then shifting his hand to another part just wounded, but possessing neither spirit nor address sufficient to ward

off the impending stroke. Even after D'Estaing's squadron had sailed, the account of which we obtained by the vigilance of a foreign resident, without any thanks to the court of Admiralty, the important pass of the Mediterranean was left unguarded. It was still pretended, that the destination of this fleet was uncertain: their sailing in an American direction might be a feint; if a squadron should be detached from our fleet in pursuit of them, they might, perhaps, return, and form a junction with D'Orvilliers, which would give him a decisive advantage over Admiral Keppel. Then the disgrace of the nation burst forth with irresistible evidence. Notwithstanding the boasted declarations that our fleet was superior to the united power of France and Spain, it happened that the fleet of France alone commanded more than our respect. The immense sums voted for the navy supplies for these three years past, could not furnish us with ships to follow D'Estaing without leaving our own coast defenceless.

The consequence of this was, that while we employed several months in gleaning the old stores that had lain for years rotting in the different dock-yards, splicing and knotting cordage that had long been condemned as unserviceable, and patching up masts and yards from the remnants of a fleet once the terror of the world, D'Estaing rode the waves in triumph, carrying protection and independence to America. If the fortune of Lord Howe had not been equal to his activity, his fatigued vessels, considerable part of which, from the nature of the service in which they were engaged, lay dispersed over the wide-extended coast of North America, must have been attacked in detail, and defeated by piece-meal. The admiral himself, with the main force of his squadron, narrowly escaped destruction in the Delaware; for, had the French fleet arrived a few days sooner, he would have been surprised in that river with two ships of sixty-four guns, one of fifty, two of forty, and a few

frigates, encumbered with a fleet of transports, victuallers, and private traders, laden for the most part with the refugees from Philadelphia, who seized this last opportunity of transporting their families and the wreck of their fortunes.

Thus was the main force of Great Britain on that side of the Atlantic left to be the sport of contingencies. It was saved by something that nearly resembles a miracle. Lord Howe resisted until Byron's fleet, which had long been kept waving in the harbour of Portsmouth, to the no small entertainment of the populace, at length arrived in America. But this squadron had been equipped in such a manner as rendered it fitter for a naval review than for any effective service. It was unable to weather a summer storm, and approached the coast of America, having more need of protection than ability to yield assistance. Among these and all the other multiplied errors which disgraced every part of our naval administration, we find the great source of our present calamities. But if we make a thorough reformation in this important department, we shall soon see that there is no reason to despair, until the whole mass of citizens become as corrupt as those men who have brought disgrace and calamity upon their country.

Before we conclude this chapter, we shall give some account of the trials of the admirals Keppel and Palliser. Soon after the action, the periodical publications were filled, as usual, with encomiums or satires on the admiral, according to the various opinions, inclinations, or humours, of the different writers, who chose to celebrate or to arraign his character and conduct. As the admiral had little personal connection with the king's ministers, and belonged to a family which had been distinguished by peculiar marks of friendship from the late duke of Cumberland whom they followed in opposition, it was evident that he owed the high command conferred on him to his professional abilities alone, without the smallest

assistance from court favour. Those who approved all the measures of administration were naturally, therefore, the loudest in condemning his behaviour, while the antiministerial party not only justified his proceedings, but held him forth as an object deserving the warmest gratitude and applause of his fellow-citizens. Various anonymous paragraphs were published and answered.

The panegyric of Sir Hugh Palliser, vice-admiral of the blue, occasioned a criticism on his conduct; it was said that he disobeyed orders by neglecting to pay any attention to the admiral's signals, and thereby prevented the destruction of the whole French fleet. These invectives and recriminations might have passed on both sides without any material consequence, and the propriety of Admiral Keppel's behaviour being blended with the prejudices of party, would probably have remained a matter of doubt, until the passions of contending factions subsiding, had left time for listening to the impartiality of some future historian. But Sir Hugh Palliser took a decisive step on the 4th of November; and by giving his name to the public in a letter written for his own justification, conveyed an indirect insinuation against his commander.

In the beginning of December these imputations were re-echoed in the House of Commons, which called up the admiral to vindicate his professional character. "If he was to go over the business of the 27th of July again, he would conduct himself in the same manner. Every thing that could be done had been done; and he was happy to say, the British flag had not been tarnished in his hands. He felt himself perfectly easy on that head, and should never be ashamed of his conduct on the day alluded to. The oldest and most experienced officers in his Majesty's navy, in every engagement, saw something which they were before unacquainted with; and that day presented something new. He impeached no man of neglect of duty, because he was satisfied that

the officer alluded to had manifested no want of courage, the quality most essential in a British seaman." He said "he was much surprised when an officer under his command, had made an appeal to the public in a common newspaper, signed with his name, before any accusation had been made against him, and which tended to render him odious and despicable in the eyes of his countrymen."

Sir Hugh Palliser declared "he was so conscious of not having been any hindrance to a re-action with the Brest fleet on the 27th of July, that he was equally indifferent with the honourable admiral how soon an inquiry were set on foot. He had discovered from what the admiral had just said, that the principal matter which weighed against him in the admiral's mind was the publication in the newspapers, which he had signed with his name, and by which he would abide. If it was imprudent, if it was wrong, the consequence was to himself. To say any thing against a friend was to a man of sensibility the most disagreeable thing in nature: but where an officer's reputation was at stake, the removing an unjust stigma was certainly the first object. If there was any reason of accusation, why not make it openly and fairly? If not, why insinuate that he had been wanting in point of conduct, though a testimony was given in favour of his courage? This," he said, "was a language extremely different from that of the admiral's dispatch containing an account of the action, in which he informed the Admiralty-board of the spirited and gallant conduct of all the officers under his command." Admiral Keppel acknowledged "he had given that approbation, and was ready to repeat it, and point the testimony particularly as well as generally. The vice-admiral had alluded to signals, and said that it was no fault of his that the fleet of France was not re-attacked. As to that he could only say, that he presumed every inferior officer was to obey the signals of his commander; and now when called

upon to speak out, he would inform the house and the public, that the signal for coming into the Victory's wake was flying from three o'clock in the afternoon till eight in the evening unobeyed: at the same time he did not charge the vice-admiral with actual disobedience. He doubted not but, if an inquiry should be thought necessary, that he would be able to justify himself, because he was fully persuaded of his personal bravery."

In consequence of this altercation, Sir Hugh Palliser drew up the following charge against Admiral Keppel, which he exhibited at the board of Admiralty on the 9th of December.

Charge of Misconduct and Neglect of Duty against the Honourable Admiral KEPPEL, *on the 27th and 28th of July,* 1778, *in divers Instances, as under-mentioned:—*

"I. That on the morning of the 27th of July, 1778, having a fleet of thirty ships of the line under his command, and being then in the presence of a French fleet of the like number of ships of the line, the said admiral did not make the necessary preparations for fight, did not put his fleet into a line of battle, or into any order proper either for receiving or attacking an enemy of such force; but, on the contrary, although his fleet was already dispersed and in disorder, he, by making the signal for several ships of the vice-admiral of the blue division to chace to windward, increased the disorder of that part of his fleet, and the ships were in consequence more scattered than they had been before; and, whilst in this disorder, he advanced to the enemy, and made the signal for battle. That the above conduct was the more unaccountable, as the enemy's fleet was not then in disorder, nor beaten, nor flying, but formed in a regular line of battle on that tack which approached the British fleet, all their motions plainly indicating a design to give battle, and they edged

down and attacked it whilst in disorder. By this unofficer-like conduct, a general engagement was not brought on, but the other flag-officers and captains were left to engage without order or regularity, from which great confusion ensued: some of his ships were prevented from getting into action at all; others were not near enough to the enemy; and some, from the confusion, fired into others of the king's ships, and did them considerable damage: and the vice-admiral of the blue was left alone to engage single and unsupported. In these instances the said Admiral Keppel negligently performed the duty imposed on him.

"II. That after the van and centre divisions of the British fleet passed the rear of the enemy, the admiral did not immediately tack and double upon the enemy with these two divisions, and continue the battle, nor did he collect them together at that time, and keep so near the enemy as to renew the battle as soon as it might be proper: on the contrary, he stood away beyond the enemy to a great distance before he wore to stand towards them again, leaving the vice-admiral of the blue engaged with the enemy, and exposed to be cut off.

"III. That after the vice-admiral of the blue had passed the last of the enemy's ships, and immediately wore, and laid his own ship's head towards the enemy again, being then in their wake and at a little distance only, and expecting the admiral to advance with all the ships to renew the fight, the admiral did not advance for that purpose, but shortened sail, hauled down the signal for battle; nor did he at that time, nor at any other time whilst standing towards the enemy, call the ships together in order to renew the attack, as he might have done, particularly the vice-admiral of the red and his division, which had received the least damage, had been the longest out of action, were ready and fit to renew it, were then to windward, and could have bore down and fetched any part of the French fleet, if the signal for battle had

not been hauled down, or if the said Admiral Keppel had availed himself of the signal appointed by the 31st article of the fighting instructions, by which he might have ordered those to lead, who are to lead with the starboard tacks on board, by a wind; which signal was applicable to the occasion for renewing the engagement with advantage, after the French fleet had been beaten, their line broken, and in disorder. In these instances he did not do the utmost in his power to take, sink, burn, or destroy the French fleet that had attacked the British fleet.

" IV. That instead of advancing to renew the engagement, as in the preceding articles is alleged, and as he might and ought to have done, the admiral wore, and made sail directly from the enemy, and thus he led the whole British fleet away from them, which gave them an opportunity to rally unmolested, and to form again into a line of battle, and to stand after the British fleet. This was disgraceful to the British flag; for it had the appearance of a flight, and gave the French admiral a pretence to claim the victory, and to publish to the world, that the British fleet ran away, and that he pursued it with the fleet of France, and offered it battle.

" V. That on the morning of the 28th of July, 1778, when it was perceived that only three of the French fleet remained near the British in the situation the whole had been in the night before, and that the rest were to leeward at a greater distance, not in a line of battle but in a heap, the admiral did not cause the fleet to pursue the flying enemy, nor even to chace the three ships that fled after the rest, but on the contrary he led the British fleet another way directly from the enemy. By these instances of misconduct and neglect a glorious opportunity was lost of doing a most essential service to the state, and the honour of the British navy was tarnished.

H. PALLISER."

This charge was sent to the Admiralty on the afternoon of the 9th of December, and intimation thereof was given by that board to Admiral Keppel the same evening.

When the contents of the accusation were laid before the public, the opinions of men, warped by a thousand prejudices, and shaded by all the different gradations of knowledge and ignorance, were infinitely various, inconsistent, opposite, and contradictory. Those who only knew that we had neither taken nor destroyed any of the French ships in the late engagement, a circumstance which they could not hesitate in ascribing to the misconduct of our commanders, understood, or fancied they understood, the charges alleged against the admiral. They wished that the man who had tarnished the antient lustre of the British flag might be brought to condign punishment; for never any crisis was more alarming than the present, or more loudly demanded every exertion of discipline and severity, that so those who, sheltered under great examples, negligently or ignorantly performed the service required of them, might be roused to a sense of their duty or insufficiency, and either acquire such talents as were beneficial to the public, or decline the weight of a command too heavy for their abilities.

This torrent of popular censure, which on another occasion would have burst forth with irresistible fury, was effectually checked by two circumstances, extremely honourable to the admiral. His candid, open, liberal behaviour had endeared him to the great body of British seamen, who loved his manners, and respected his courage. He was known to have little connection with the present ministry, and especially to be no favourite with the first lord of the Admiralty. This was sufficient to occasion a suspicion that the ministers in general heartily concurred in the accusation, partly to divert the public from melancholy reflections on our present deplorable condition, and

partly to share with others the blame which must otherwise have lain entirely on their own shoulders. It was known that almost every officer entrusted with a principal command had fallen under their displeasure; and although errors, doubtless, must have been committed by our commanders in the course of the war, yet a repeated series of calamity could only be occasioned by an error at head-quarters, a defect of preparation, a want of vigour, skill, or integrity in those who fitted out, planned, and directed our naval and military expeditions.

The cause and reputation of Admiral Keppel were still further supported by a memorial presented to his Majesty the 30th of December, and signed by the first names in the British navy. This paper, drawn up in the form of a petition, contained, in elegant and nervous language, a severe remonstrance against the conduct not only of Sir Hugh Palliser, but of the lords of the Admiralty. The subscribing admirals represented to the wisdom and justice of his Majesty, that Sir Hugh Palliser had withheld the accusation against his commander in chief, from the twenty-seventh day of July to the ninth of December; that the avowed motive of the accusation was to recriminate against charges conjectured by Sir Hugh Palliser, but which in fact were never made; that the commissioners of the Admiralty without considering these circumstances, or giving any previous notice to the party accused, had, on the same day on which the charge was preferred, intimated their intention that a court-martial should be held on him, after forty years of meritorious service, in which the glory of the British flag had been maintained and increased in various parts of the world. The consequences of such measures are represented as dangerous to the honour of his Majesty's officers, subversive of the discipline of the navy, and destructive to the public order of society. [Appendix, No. XI.]

This memorial occasioned no alteration in the mea-

sures adopted by the lords of the Admiralty, who issued their orders to Sir Thomas Pye, admiral of the white squadron of his Majesty's fleet, to hold a court-martial at Portsmouth, the 7th of January, for the trial of Admiral Keppel. The court accordingly was assembled, on the day appointed, with the usual formalities, and continued, by several adjournments, till the 11th of February. In the course of the evidence brought by the prosecutor, no one fact was proved that could give the smallest support to a single article in the charge. Admiral Keppel, before bringing forward his witnesses, made a particular reply to the various accusations of his adversary; and in this reply some circumstances are incidentally mentioned, which place the administration of the marine department in the same light in which it must already have appeared to every one who considers with attention the naval history of the present period. In the month of March 1778, the admiral was told that a fleet lay ready for him to command. Having reached Portsmouth, he saw but six ships ready, and "on viewing even those with a seaman's eye, he was not by any means pleased with their condition." On the 30th of June he sailed with twenty ships of the line. Thirty-two ships of the line lay in Brest water, besides an incredible number of frigates. "Was I to seek an engagement," says the admiral, "with a superior force? I never did, nor shall I ever fear to engage a force superior to the one I then commanded, or that I may hereafter command. But I well know what men and ships can do, and if the fleet I commanded had been destroyed, we must have left the French masters of the sea. To refit a fleet requires time. From the situation of affairs, naval stores are not very soon supplied. Never did I experience so deep a melancholy as when I found myself forced to turn my back on France! I quitted my station, and courage was never put to so severe a trial."

The admiral was permitted to sail a second time,

without receiving official praise or blame for the part which he had acted. Having taken two French frigates, he was fearful that a war with France, and all its consequences, might be laid to his charge. "This," he says, "for any thing I can tell, may be treasured up, to furnish another matter for future accusation." He was surprised, on his return, to be threatened with the fate of Admiral Byng, and still more surprised to be charged with cowardice. "I am exceedingly sorry, that the Admiralty have refused me the liberty of producing my instructions. In all former courts-martial, the instructions and orders have been sent with the charge, to the members of the court. Although on the 27th of July I fought and beat my enemy, and compelled him to take shelter by returning into port, yet the effort did by no means answer my wishes. I rushed on to re-attack the enemy; and why I did not accomplish my design, will be seen in the evidence which I shall produce."

When the admiral's witnesses were examined, it appeared, that if he had waited for forming the line of battle, and had not immediately taken advantage of a change of wind to close with the enemy, there could have been no engagement on the 27th of July. It was proved, that, having passed the French fleet, he wore ship, in order to renew the engagement as soon as it was proper; as he could not have done it sooner, had the state of his own ship admitted of it, without throwing the ships astern into the greatest confusion. The English fleet at no time exhibited any signs of flying from the enemy; when the French, after the engagement, edged away, and made for some of our disabled ships, it was necessary to wear again, in order to prevent those ships from falling into their hands. The three French ships which were seen on the morning of the 28th of July, could not have been pursued with the smallest prospect of success.* [Appendix, No. XII.] These facts, which

entirely destroyed the charge against Admiral Keppel, were established by the witnesses on both sides.

The evidence brought by the admiral, and particularly the testimony of Admiral Campbell, Sir John Lindsay, and Captain Jervis, proved, that the reason why the British fleet did not re-attack the French was, the disobedience of Sir Hugh Palliser, vice-admiral of the blue, who disregarded the admiral's signal for forming the line, which continued flying from three o'clock in the afternoon till the evening. The court, having heard the prosecutor's evidence, and the prisoner's defence, unanimously proceeded to give sentence on the 11th of February, in the following terms: "That it is their opinion the charge against Admiral Keppel is malicious and ill-founded, it having appeared, that the said admiral, so far from having, by misconduct and neglect of duty, on the days therein alluded to, lost an opportunity of rendering essential service to the state, and thereby tarnished the honour of the British navy, behaved as became a judicious, brave, and experienced officer." The president then delivered him his sword, congratulating him on its being restored with so much honour, and hoping ere long, he would be called forth, by his sovereign, to draw it again in the service of his country.

Thus ended this celebrated trial, from which the public were led to form a very different opinion of the action of the 27th of July, from that which naturally presented itself on reading the admiral's public letter to the commissioners of the marine department. This letter, though it contained nothing directly in opposition to truth, unless the general panegyric bestowed on the spirited conduct of Sir Robert Harland, Sir Hugh Palliser, and the captains of the fleet, be supposed to imply an acquittal of every individual from the crime of disobedience, yet, by concealing part of the truth, tended to mislead the judgment of the public, and to give them both an inadequate and

erroneous idea of the action. It seemed from the letter, that the admiral could have attacked the French fleet a second time that afternoon while they were forming the line of battle; but it appeared from the evidence, that this could not have been done, nor the engagement renewed at any time that day, without giving an evident advantage to the enemy, as Sir Hugh Palliser's not coming into the admiral's wake agreeably to signal, left the British fleet throughout the whole afternoon greatly inferior to that of France.

Parliament met on the 26th of November, 1778: the principal topic in the speech from the throne, naturally referred to the unexampled and unprovoked hostility of the court of France; but while this subject was dwelt upon with rather too much bitterness and want of temper, the events of the war were passed over in a short and inexplicit manner. On the probable conduct of neutral states, it was also unsatisfactory and hesitating; their professions were stated to be friendly, but the armaments which several of them had commenced, were held up to parliament as proper objects of suspicion and jealousy. No plan of operations was specifically pointed out for the next campaign; but, in a general, and rather vague manner, the necessity of great exertions was insisted upon.

With respect to the naval operations of the year 1778, ministers contended, in answer to the arguments of the opposition on that subject, that if the fleet under Admiral Byron had been sent out earlier than it actually was, the two French fleets would have had an opportunity of forming a junction at Brest; whereas, by the plan that was pursued, our naval superiority in the Channel was preserved, and the war kept at a distance from our own territories. The debate on the address, and the amendment moved by the opposition, was long and vehement; the latter was rejected by a majority of two hundred

and twenty-six to one hundred and seven in the House of Commons: in the House of Lords, the address was, of course, of the same nature as that carried in the House of Commons—but the opposition did not move an amendment—they signified their determination to oppose the address entirely; and, if they could, to put a negative on the whole. As far as regarded the state and exertions of the navy, it was contended by the opposition, that it was fallen, and indeed almost annihilated; in reply to this heavy charge, the first lord of the Admiralty denied the fact, in the strongest and most unequivocal manner; but, at the same time, he acknowledged that we had been much too slow, both in our naval and military preparations. On a division of the house, there appeared sixty-seven lords who supported the motion, and thirty-five who proposed a total negative to the whole address.

The total supplies granted for the year 1779, amounted to 15,729,654*l.* 5*s.* 4¾*d.* of which there were for the navy the following sums: viz. for seventy thousand men, including seventeen thousand three hundred and eighty-nine marines and sea ordnance, 3,640,000*l.*—for the ordinary, including half pay to the sea and marine officers, 369,882*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.*—for buildings, repairs, &c. 579,187*l.* making a total for the navy of 4,589,069*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.*

The flag officers employed this year were, at Portsmouth, Admiral Sir Thomas Pye; in the Channel fleet, Admiral Sir Charles Hardy, Vice-admiral Darby, Rear-admiral Digby, and Rear-admiral Sir J. Ross; in the Mediterranean, Vice-admiral Duff; on the North American station, Vice-admiral Arbuthnot and Commodore Collier; on the Newfoundland station, Rear-admiral Edwards; in the Leeward Islands, Vice-admiral Byron, Vice-admiral Barrington, Rear-admiral H. Parker, sen. and Rear-admiral Rowley; on the Jamaica station, Vice-admiral Sir Peter Par-

ker; and in the East Indies, Rear-admiral Sir Edward Hughes and Rear-admiral Sir E. Vernon.

We have already given an account of the trial of Admiral Keppel, and hinted at the trial of Sir Hugh Palliser; it will be proper to notice the latter more particularly, before we proceed to the naval events of this year.

The court-martial assembled for this purpose on the 12th of April, in Portsmouth Harbour, on board of the Sandwich, Vice-admiral Digby being president. A great many witnesses were examined, and the court continued sitting till the 5th of May, when, after having spent two days in deliberation, the following sentence was passed:

"The order for the court-martial having been accompanied with the original minutes of the proceedings of the court-martial, lately held on the trial of the Hon. Augustus Keppel; and reciting that it appears by the said minutes, that the several matters were given in evidence at the said trial, respecting the conduct and behaviour of Vice-admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, on the 27th and 28th of July last, which demand strict examination. The court proceeded to examine witnesses, touching the said several matters, and to try him for the same; and having maturely considered the whole also that the prisoner has alleged in his defence, together with what has been given in upon evidence in support thereof, are of opinion, that his conduct and behaviour on those days were, in many respects, highly exemplary and meritorious; at the same time, cannot help thinking it was incumbent upon him to have made known to his commander-in-chief the disabled state of the Formidable, which he might have done by the Fox, at the time she joined him, or by other means. Notwithstanding his omission in that particular, the court are of opinion he is not, in any other respect, chargeable with misconduct or misbehaviour on the days above men-

tioned; and therefore they acquit him, and he is hereby acquitted accordingly.

Perhaps, on no occasion, was party spirit more alive and virulent than on the trials of Admiral Keppel and Sir Hugh Palliser. The former was a known partizan of the opposition; of course he was defended by them, while they heaped all the blame of misconduct on Sir Hugh Palliser: this circumstance, independently of the latter's connection with ministers, was sufficient to make them, and that part of the nation who approved of their measures, attach themselves strongly to his cause and defence. The issue of party spirit thus working, where a regard for the public good alone should have existed, and been brought into action, was such as might naturally have been expected—each party saved the man, in whose defence they stood forth, while the sober and dispassionate portion of the nation, after having witnessed gross misconduct in the management of the battle on the 27th and 28th of July, 1778, had the additional mortification to find, that no person was to be punished, or even severely blamed for it.

On the 16th of June, hostilities were commenced against Spain; the Spanish ambassador at the court of St. James, having a short time before presented a hostile manifesto, stating some very vague and flimsy pretexts, for the step that his master was about to take.

That Spain had long been preparing for war with this country, was soon abundantly evident, by the naval force she sent to sea, almost immediately after the commencement of hostilities. On the 15th of August, the combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to sixty-six sail of the line, made their appearance in the British Channel. The British squadron, which was employed to watch them, were at the time cruising in the Soundings, and were not informed of this humiliating and degrading circumstance, till the hostile fleet had been three days before

Plymouth. This, however, was done rather as a bravado, than with any serious intention, or sanguine hope of being able to attack Plymouth, or even to injure our coasts: a few coasting vessels, and the Ardent, of sixty-four guns, which, unapprized of their being in the Channel, and when she perceived them, took them for a British squadron, were the only fruits of this enterprise. As soon as Sir Charles Hardy, who commanded our Channel fleet, was informed that the French fleet had entered it, he attempted to work up against a strong easterly wind: this, however, he was unable to effect; while the same wind obliged the enemy to quit the Channel. As soon as the wind changed to the west, the British admiral entered the Channel, in sight of the combined fleet, which followed him nearly to Falmouth, and then gave up the pursuit. Considerable alarm was excited, and considerable mortification felt at the circumstance, that a sea peculiarly our own, should have been even for a few days, under the controul and dominion of our rival; and the spirit of the people, always proportioned to our naval success or disaster, received a shock on this occasion, from which it did not speedily or easily recover: nor was this to be wondered at; the issue of the battle between the French and Admiral Keppel had already broken down the hopes and confidence of the nation, in their great bulwark, and the unchecked and triumphant appearance of the combined fleets in the Channel, fell therefore with the greater effect and force.

In North America Sir George Collier, who took the command of the fleet, on the return home of Admiral Gambier, sailed from New York, in the beginning of May, with a fleet of transports under his protection, having troops on board, for an expedition to the Chesapeake, and a descent on the coast of Virginia. This expedition was very successful, having destroyed before the end of the month the towns of Norfolk, Suffolk, Portsmouth, and Gos-

port; and taken or destroyed one hundred and thirty vessels, several of them laden with very valuable cargoes. Soon after his return to New York, he again embarked on a similar expedition, up the North River, on which he was equally successful. This commander appears to have been uncommonly active; for learning that an American fleet of thirty-seven sail had gone up the river Penobscot, for the purpose of attacking Colonel Maclean, who with six hundred troops, had taken up a strong post there; he immediately sailed from Sandy Hook, and arrived in sufficient time to save the British troops. When Sir George Collier entered the river, the American commodore at first seemed disposed to dispute his passage, and for that purpose drew up his squadron; but his resolution failed him, he betook himself to an ignominious flight, the British admiral pursued, and was so fortunate as to capture or destroy nearly all the vessels of the enemy. Soon after this enterprising and successful officer's return to New York, Vice-admiral Arbuthnot arrived from England with several sail of the line, and took the command of the whole fleet.

In the West Indies the British fleet was rendered superior this year to that of the French under the command of the Count D'Estaing, by the junction of the ships which Admiral Byron brought from England with those which had previously formed the squadron of Admiral Barrington. The French fleet all this time lay in Port Royal; and the endeavours of the British admirals were directed, but without effect, to draw them out to sea. The Count D'Estaing received and bore all the insults that were offered to his squadron with great phlegm and coolness; and soon afterwards he contrived, notwithstanding the watchfulness of his opponents, to slip out of Port-Royal, and meet and bring with him a considerable reinforcement of ships of the line, and

transports, under the command of the Count De Grasse. The British fleet was also encreased and strengthened by the arrival of Admiral Rowley from England: the hostile squadrons still, however, retained their relative force; and the Count D'Estaing was unwilling to venture out and hazard a general engagement.

He was soon rewarded for his caution, and had an opportunity, by a successful adventure, to wipe off the stigma which had been cast upon him, on account of his backwardness to meet his opponent. Admiral Byron, deeming it of the greatest importance to protect a large and valuable fleet, which was about to proceed from St. Christopher's to England, sailed with his whole squadron for that purpose. No sooner was the French commander apprized of the departure of the English fleet, than he dispatched a few men, not more than four hundred and fifty, by the highest estimation, under the command only of a naval lieutenant, who, by some culpable negligence of the governor of the island, succeeded, with little difficulty or delay, in getting possession of St. Vincent. Soon after this successful and unexpected capture, the Count D'Estaing having been reinforced by the junction of some troops under Monsieur De la Motte, resolved to attempt the conquest of Grenada and the Grenadines. His fleet consisted of twenty-six sail of the line, and ten or twelve frigates: the land-forces he carried with him were not fewer than ten thousand. To defend the island against this formidable armament, there were not more than one hundred and fifty soldiers, and three or four hundred armed inhabitants; most of these, by the direction of Lord Macartney, were posted on a fortified hill, which commanded the harbour and town of St. George. This hill, of course, was the main object of attack by the enemy: at first they were repulsed with very great loss, but renewing the assault, they carried the

lines after a most obstinate contest; upon this, Lord Macartney, finding that they would not grant him honourable terms, surrendered at discretion.

In the mean time Admiral Byron had returned to St. Lucia, where he learned the capture of St. Vincent, and the danger of Grenada: he was, however, not accurately informed either of the force under the Count D'Estaing, nor of the critical situation of Grenada; hoping therefore that he should be able to relieve and protect the island, and believing that his fleet was superior, at least equal to that of the French, Admiral Byron sailed towards Grenada. The enemy apprized of the approach of our squadron, weighed anchor and stood out from the harbour of St. George; but with no serious intention of hazarding a close and decisive engagement. They had already attained one of the principal objects of their expedition by the capture of Grenada, and it was not to be supposed that they would run the risque of losing their conquest, by hazarding the issue of a general battle. On the other hand, the only chance Admiral Byron had of regaining the island was, by bringing the French fleet to a general engagement; for he was yet ignorant of their great numerical superiority; their views and objects being thus different, or rather diametrically opposite, their manœuvres were of course directed to the accomplishment of their respective objects. But it was much more easy for the French to avoid a battle, than for the English to compel them to fight; for the vessels of the former, being much cleaner, and sailed a great deal better than the ships of the latter, they therefore suffered some of the English squadron to near them, when they attacked them with a great superiority of force, and as soon as some others of the English approached to support and aid their consorts, then the French took advantage of their superiority in point of sailing, and bore away notwithstanding these untoward circumstances. Admiral Byron continued the signal

for a general chase, and added that for close battle. At half past seven o'clock, Admiral Barrington in the Princess of Wales, with his two seconds, the Boyne and Sultan, having reached the van of the enemy, commenced an attack upon them with great vigour and spirit: these ships, however, having greatly outsailed the rest of their division, were obliged to sustain for a considerable length of time the fire of the whole van of the French; and in this part of the battle Admiral Barrington was wounded. Still the Count D'Estaing maintained and carried into effect his resolution of not coming to a close and general engagement; the French ships, accordingly, either bore down in superior numbers, on such of our fleet as reached them, or stood away, under a press of sail, when they perceived more of the British fleet coming up to join in the engagement. The result was such as might have been expected: Admiral Byron finding that it was impossible to bring the enemy to a close, regular, and decisive battle, left off firing a little after twelve o'clock; and the Count D'Estaing, having obtained the only object he had in view, that of preventing the British from compelling him to fight, and at the same time injuring and disabling their ships as much as possible, likewise ceased from firing.

As Admiral Byron was all this time ignorant of the capture of the island, and wished to let the governor know that he was at hand to support and relieve him, some of the British squadron, during the engagement, by great skill and bravery, manœuvred and fought their way close to the harbour of St. George; when they were astonished and mortified to behold French colours flying on the fort. Nothing now remained for Admiral Byron but to return to Antigua or St. Christopher's, with his disabled fleet, and the transports which he had under his protection; but as he still was impressed with the belief, that the French would attack him, in

order to be fully prepared for them, he ordered the Lion and Monmouth, which had suffered most severely in the battle, to precede him, with as little delay as possible, and to take the transports along with them; the latter could be of no service now that Grenada was taken, and in the event of an engagement they might have incommoded him much. The French admiral, however, notwithstanding the British fleet was now reduced to nineteen sail of the line, still persisted in his determination not to fight; he not only did not make any shew of attacking Admiral Byron, but in the course of the night he actually returned with his fleet to Grenada.

The loss of men in the British fleet amounted to one hundred and eighty-three killed, and three hundred and forty-six wounded: that of the French was very great; the lowest estimate making it two thousand seven hundred, of which twelve hundred were slain; other accounts carry it considerably higher than three thousand.

Soon after this action, Admiral Byron returned to England; and Sir Hyde Parker took the command of the fleet. On the 18th of December he received information that a squadron of the enemy's ships were seen near the Island of Martinico, evidently bound for that place. He accordingly stretched over towards Fort Royal, and gave chace to them: several ran on shore, and the rest were in great danger of being captured, when the French admiral, Monsieur De la Motte, slipped his cables and stood out to their protection; he succeeded in saving part of the convoy, but he endangered the loss of his own ships by this bold enterprise, for he was obliged, in order to protect the transports, to stand out to a considerable distance, and the Conqueror, the weathermost ship of the British squadron, coming within gun-shot, opened a heavy cannonade. Monsieur De la Motte, besides his own ship, had two other seventy-four's with him; and notwithstanding this im-

mense superiority, Captain Griffiths, who commanded the Conqueror, received and returned their fire with great coolness and resolution, in the hope that by disabling them he might enable some others of the British fleet to come up and assist him.

On the Jamaica station, Captain Luttrell, who commanded a small squadron, resolved, in conjunction with Captain Dalrymple and a detachment of land-forces, to attack the Spanish fort Omoa. As they had no artillery, the only feasible plan on which, to bring this enterprise to a successful termination was, to attempt to carry the place by a *coup de main;* a general attack, therefore, was made on the fort at the same time, on the night of the 16th of October, by sea and by land: very little resistance was offered, and the fort, garrison, ships in the harbour, together with two hundred and fifty quintals of quicksilver, and three millions of piastres, fell into the hands of the British.

Respecting this capture, an anecdote is related of a sailor, which, as it is extremely characteristic of their romantic bravery, particularly deserves a place in this work. "A single sailor scrambled over the wall of the fort, with a cutlass in each hand: thus equipped, he fell in with a Spanish officer just roused from sleep, who, in the hurry and confusion, had forgotten his sword: the tar, disdaining to take advantage of an unarmed foe, and willing to display his courage in single combat, presented the officer with one of the cutlasses, saying, 'I scorn any advantage, you are now on a footing with me.' The astonishment of the officer at such an act of generosity, and the facility with which a friendly parley took place, when he expected nothing else but to be cut to pieces, could only be rivalled by the admiration which his relating the story excited in his countrymen." Upon this circumstance being mentioned to Sir Peter Parker at the return of the squadron, he appointed this intrepid fellow to be boatswain of

a sloop of war; a few years afterwards, either in a fit of drunkenness or madness, he forgot his situation, and struck the lieutenant of the Ferret sloop of war, for which he was tried by a court-martial, condemned to suffer death, and executed."

In a work of this nature, it is impossible to take even a rapid and cursory notice of all the naval actions that have been fought between Britain and her enemies; those which were fought on a large scale, on the issue of which great results were depending, or where there were opportunities for the display and exercise of professional skill, of course demand particular attention and a full account. There are, however, others, which, though comparatively trifling, if we look merely to the force engaged on either side, yet, as displaying British bravery to advantage, require to be narrated: of these, in the course of the year 1779, we shall give an account of two: the action, in which Captain Richard Pearson, in the Serapis, of forty guns, and Captain Piercy, of the Countess of Scarborough armed ship of twenty, so nobly, though unsuccessfully, defended themselves against the squadron of the celebrated Paul Jones; and that, in which the Quebec, Captain Farmer, blew up.

On the 23d of September, Captain Pearson and Captain Piercy, with the ships under their command, having a large convoy of merchant-vessels with them off the Yorkshire coast, received information that an enemy's squadron had been seen there a few days before; measures were immediately taken to secure the convoy, and preparations made for action; a little after noon on the same day, the enemy's ships were seen, consisting of a two-decked ship and two frigates. Soon after seven o'clock the action commenced, the largest ship of the enemy attacking the Serapis, Captain Pearson, assisted occasionally by one of the frigates, while the other frigate attacked the Countess of Scarborough, Captain Piercy. The ob-

ject of the largest vessel, which was commanded by Paul Jones, was, from the commencement of the engagement, to board the Serapis; for this purpose, they manœuvred in different ways: at first, after firing two or three broadsides, she dropped within pistol-shot of the Serapis' quarter; but being repulsed in this attempt to board, she sheered off. Afterwards, when Captain Pearson manœuvred his ship, in order to lay her again along-side of the enemy; the latter laid the Serapis athwart hawse, where she lay for some time, till at last, having got clear, the two ships brought up close along-side of each other, the muzzles of their guns actually touching. For two hours the battle raged in this situation with dreadful fury, the enemy making several attempts to set fire to the Serapis by means of combustibles which they threw on board her; their attempts, fortunately, were unsuccessful. About half past nine, all the guns of the Serapis, behind the main-mast, were rendered useless by a dreadful explosion that took place, which also destroyed all the officers and men who were in that part of the ship. The loss of the Serapis was further increased by the fire of one of the enemy's frigates, which kept constantly sailing round and raking her.

Paul Jones, finding that he had little chance of succeeding by fighting against the Serapis, had recourse to stratagem; some of his men called for quarter; and on Captain Pearson hailing to enquire if they had struck, no answer was returned; he naturally supposed that, though unwilling to yield, they were not in a state to make a much longer resistance: he, therefore, ordered his men to board the enemy; but they had scarcely succeeded in this, before a greatly superior number of men, armed with pikes, who had lain concealed, attacked them, and compelled them to return to the Serapis. At this critical juncture, before the men could regain their guns, and before the Serapis could be placed in a proper po-

sition, the frigate poured in another broadside with dreadful effect, so that Captain Pearson, unable to bring even a single gun to bear, was under the painful necessity of striking his colours. The ship to which he struck was the Bon Homme Richard, of forty guns, and three hundred and seventy-five men: the frigate which had been employed, during the battle, in sailing round and raking him, was the Alliance of forty guns and three hundred men. The former was so dreadfully disabled, that, soon after the battle, the crew were obliged, to quit her: the loss of the Serapis was forty-nine killed, and sixty-eight wounded; that of the Bon Homme Richard was three hundred and six killed and wounded. The battle between the Countess of Scarborough and her opponent the Pallas, a French frigate of thirty-two guns and two hundred and seventy-five men, was fought with equal obstinacy, but with the same want of success on the part of the British; after a contest of two hours, Captain Piercy, perceiving another frigate bearing down against him, was compelled to strike his flag; his loss was four men killed and twenty wounded. The gallantry of Captain Pearson in this engagement, was honoured and rewarded by knighthood and by the situation of lieutenant governor of Greenwich Hospital.

On the 6th of October, the Quebec thirty-two guns, Captain Farmer, and the Rambler cutter, Lieutenant George, fell in with a large French frigate and a cutter, to the south-west of Ushant. The frigate proved to be the Surveillante of forty guns: she began to fire at the Quebec, long before she could do any execution. The Quebec reserved her fire, till she got within point blank shot of the enemy, when, shewing her colours, she commenced the action. In the mean time, the Rambler cutter stood in between the frigate and the French cutter, in order, if possible, to cut the latter off: the action between these continued for nearly three hours, when the enemy,

taking advantage of the damage she had done to the masts and rigging of the Rambler, made sail and bore away. The engagement between the two frigates lasted for three hours and a half; it was fought so close, and with such obstinacy on both sides, that, at the end of that time, they were both dismasted, lying like complete wrecks in the water, on board of each other; the sails of the Quebec having been brought down along with her masts, and not having been cleared away, took fire: the ship was soon in flames; and in spite of all their endeavours to stop the flames, they spread in every direction, till about six in the evening, she blew up, her colours flying, and her captain and most of her crew perishing with her.

As soon as Lieutenant George saw the condition of the Quebec, he endeavoured to make sail towards her, in order that he might use his efforts to extinguish the flames, or, if that were impracticable, to save the crew: but his own ship having suffered severely and being considerably to leeward, with little wind, and a great swell, he was, in a great measure, unable to accomplish his object; he, indeed, sent out the boat of the cutter, but the guns of the Quebec going off as the flames reached them, the boat's crew were afraid to approach her so often as they could have wished. Captain George, in his official account of this engagement, blames the enemy for having fired on his boat, while performing this office of humanity: but this charge was afterwards proved to have been utterly groundless. On the contrary, several of the men of the Quebec were saved by the French frigate, and they uniformly bore testimony to the attention and kindness with which they were treated. When it is considered, that the enemy's ship, at the time she received on board such of the crew of the Quebec as could be saved, was a complete wreck, and that the majority of her men were either killed or wounded, we shall be able and willing to form a just estimate of

their humanity. It deserves farther to be told, that the French captain at this time, was in the agonies of death, and that he spent his last breath in declaring the satisfaction he felt in having had such an opportunity for the display and exercise of his humanity. It is such instances as these of nobleness and benevolence in those that are fighting against each other, that relieve the mind when it is weary with scenes of carnage and bloodshed, and almost disposed to despair of the human race.

APPENDIX.

No. I. (P. 9.)

Translation of an intercepted Letter from General Lally to Mr. Raymond, French Resident at Pullicat, dated Pondicherry, the 2d January, 1761.

MR. RAYMOND,

THE English squadron is no more, Sir; out of the twelve ships they had in our road, seven are lost, crews and all; the four others dismasted; and it appears that there is no more than one frigate that has escaped; therefore do not lose an instant to send us chelingoes upon chelingoes, loaded with rice: the Dutch have nothing to fear now, besides (according to the law of nations) they are only to send us no provisions themselves, and we are no more blocked up by sea. The saving of Pondicherry hath been in your power once already; if you miss the present opportunity, it will be entirely your fault. Do not forget also some small chelingoes; offer great rewards. I expect seventeen thousand Marattoes within these four days. In short, risk all, attempt all, force all, and send us some rice, should it be but half a garse at a time.

(Signed) LALLY.

No. II. (P. 20.)

Capitulation for the Citadel of Belleisle, made June 7, 1761.

PRELIMINARY ARTICLE. The Chevalier De St. Croix, brigadier in the king's army, and commandant of the citadel of

Belleisle, proposes that the place shall surrender on the 12th of June, in case no succours arrive before that time; and that, in the mean while, no works shall be carried on on either side, nor any act of hostility, nor any communication between the English besieging and the French besieged.—" Refused."

I. The entire garrison shall march through the breach with the honours of war, drums beating, colours flying, lighted matches, and three pieces of cannon, with twelve rounds each. Each soldier shall have fifteen rounds in his cartouch-box. All the officers, serjeants, soldiers, and inhabitants, are to carry off their baggage: the women to go with their husbands.—" Granted. In favour of the gallant defence which the citadel has made, under the orders of the Chevalier De St. Croix."

II. Two covered waggons shall be provided, and the effects which they carry shall be deposited in two covered boats, which are not to be visited.—" The covered waggons are refused; but care shall be taken to transport all the baggage to the Continent by the shortest way."

III. Vessels shall be furnished for carrying the French troops by the shortest way into the nearest ports of France, by the first fair wind.—" Granted."

IV. The French troops that are to embark, are to be victualled in the same proportion with the troops of his Britannic Majesty; and the same proportion of tonnage is to be allowed to the officers and soldiers which the English troops have.—" Granted."

V. When the troops shall be embarked, a vessel is to be furnished for the Chevalier De St. Croix, brigadier in the king's army, to M. De la Ville, the king's lieutenant, to M. De la Garique, colonel of foot, with brevet of commandant in the absence of the Chevalier De St. Croix, and to the field-officers, including those of the artillery and engineers; as also for the three pieces of cannon, as well as for the soldiers of the Cour-Royale, to be transported to Nantz, with their wives, servants, and the baggage which they have in the citadel, which is not to be visited. They are to be victualled in the same proportion with the English officers of the same rank.—" Care shall be taken that all those who are mentioned in this article shall be transported, without loss of time, to Nantz, with their baggage and effects, as well as the three pieces of cannon granted by the first article."

VI. After the expiration of the term mentioned in the first article, a gate of the citadel shall be delivered up to the troops of his Britannic Majesty, at which there shall be kept a French guard of equal number, until the king's troops shall march out

to embark. Those guards shall be ordered to permit no English soldier to enter, nor no French soldier to go out.—"A gate shall be delivered to the troops of his Britannic Majesty the moment the capitulation is signed; and an equal number of French troops shall occupy the same gate."

VII. A vessel shall be furnished to the commissaries of war, and to the treasurer, in which they may carry their baggage, with their secretaries, clerks, and servants, without being molested or visited. They shall be conducted, as well as the other troops, to the nearest port of France.—"Granted."

VIII. Mess. De Taille, captain-general of the garde coste, Lamp, major, two lieutenants of cannoniers of the garde coste, and ninety bombardiers, cannoniers, serjeants, and fusileers, gardes costes of Belleisle, paid by the king, shall have it in their choice to remain in the island, as well as all the other inhabitants, without being molested, either as to their persons or goods. And if they have a mind to sell their goods, furniture, boats, nets, and in general any effects which belong to them, within six months, and to pass over to the Continent, they shall not be hindered; but, on the contrary, they shall have proper assistance and the necessary passports.—"They shall remain in the island under protection of the king of Great Britain, as the other inhabitants; or shall be transported to the Continent, if they please, with the garrison."

IX. M. Sarignon, clerk of the treasury of the French troops, the armourer, the Bourgeois cannoniers, the storekeepers, and all the workmen belonging to the engineers, may remain at Belleisle with their families, or go to the Continent with the same privileges as above mentioned.—"Granted. To remain in the island, upon the same footing with the other inhabitants, or to be transported with the garrison to the Continent, as they shall think proper."

X. The Roman Catholic religion shall be exercised in the island with the same freedom as under a French government. The churches shall be preserved, and the rectors and other priests continued; and, in case of death, they shall be replaced by the bishop of Vannes. They shall be maintained in their functions, privileges, immunities, and revenues.—"All the inhabitants, without distinction, shall enjoy the free exercise of their religion. The other part of this article must necessarily depend on the pleasure of his Britannic Majesty."

XI. The officers and soldiers, who are in the hospitals of the town and citadel, shall be treated in the same manner as the garrison, and, after their recovery, they shall be furnished with vessels to carry them to France. In the mean while they shall be

supplied with subsistence and remedies till their departure, according to the state which the comptroller and surgeons shall give in.—" Granted."

XII. After the term mentioned in the preliminary article is expired, orders shall be given that the commissaries of artillery, engineers, and provisions, shall make an inventory of what shall be found in the king's magazines, out of which, bread, wine, and meat, shall be furnished to subsist the French troops to the moment of their departure.—" They shall be furnished with necessary subsistence till their departure, on the same footing with the troops of his Britannic Majesty."

XIII. Maj.-Gen. Crawfurd, as well as all the English officers and soldiers who have been made prisoners since the 8th of April 1761 inclusive, shall be set at liberty after the signing of the capitulation, and shall be disengaged from their parole. The French officers of different ranks, volunteers, serjeants, and soldiers, who have been made prisoners since the 9th of April, shall also be set at liberty.—" The English officers and soldiers, prisoners of war in the citadel, are to be free the moment the capitulation is signed. The French officers and soldiers, who are prisoners of war, shall be exchanged according to the cartel of Sluys."

All the above articles shall be executed faithfully on both sides, and such as may be doubtful, shall be fairly interpreted.—" Granted."

After the signature, hostages shall be sent on both sides, for the security of the articles of the capitulation.—" Granted."

" All the archives, registers, public papers, and writings, which have any relation to the government of this island, shall be faithfully given up to his Britannic Majesty's commissary. Two days shall be allowed for the evacuation of the citadel; and the transports necessary for the embarkation, shall be ready to receive the garrison and their effects. A French officer shall be ordered to deliver up all the warlike stores and provisions, and, in general, every thing which belongs to his Most Christian Majesty, to an English commissary appointed for that purpose; and an officer shall be appointed to shew us all the mines and souterains of the place."

S. Hodgson,
Le Chevalier De St. Croix,
A. Keppel.

No. III. (P. 44.)

PAPERS RELATING TO THE CONQUEST OF MARTINICO.

Articles of Capitulation of the Citadel of Fort Royal, in the Island of Martinico, the 4th of February, 1762.

ARTICLE I. The commanding officer of the citadel shall march out at the head of the garrison, composed of troops detached from the marine, the royal grenadiers, cannoniers, bombardiers, and Swiss; the different detachments of the militia and freebooters, and the other volunteers, with the honours of war, and three rounds of ammunition each.—Answered, "The troops of his Most Christian Majesty shall be embarked and sent to France, as soon as possible, at the expense of his Britannic Majesty; but the troops belonging to the island shall lay down their arms, and be prisoners of war, until the fate of Martinico is determined."

II. That the officers and others shall preserve their effects, have time to settle their affairs, and shall take their servants along with them.—"Granted."

III. That three days shall be granted for the evacuation of the place, at the end of which time the gate shall be given up to the troops of his Britannic Majesty, whilst the garrison shall march out at nine to-morrow morning.—Answered, "The gate of the fort shall be given up to the troops of his Britannic Majesty this evening at five o'clock, and the French garrison shall march out at nine to-morrow morning."

(Signed) ROBERT MONKTON,
DE LIGNERY. G. B. RODNEY.

Capitulation demanded by the Inhabitants of the Island of Martinico, represented by Messrs. D'Alesso, knight, Signior Defragny, La Pierre, captain of horse, and Feryre, captain of infantry, furnished with full powers from nine quarters of the Island.

ARTICLE I. The inhabitants shall quit their posts with two field-pieces, drums beating, colours flying, matches lighted, and

all the honours of war.——" The inhabitants shall march out of all their garrisons and posts with their arms; upon condition that they afterwards lay them down; and that all the forts, batteries, and military implements, be delivered to persons appointed to receive them."

II. The inhabitants shall have the free exercise of their religion, and the priests, nuns and friars, shall be preserved in their cures and convents.——" Granted."

III. The inhabitants shall not be obliged to take arms against his Most Christian Majesty, nor even against any other power.—" They become subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and must take the oath of allegiance; but shall not be obliged to take arms against his Most Christian Majesty, until a peace may determine the fate of the island."

IV. The inhabitants shall be preserved in their privileges, rights, honours and exemptions.—" They are subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and shall enjoy their properties, and the same privileges as in the other of his Majesty's Leeward Islands."

V. The prisoners taken during the siege shall be restored on both sides; the free mulattoes, as well as the negroes, shall be restored as prisoners of war.—" The inhabitants and mulattoes will become British subjects, upon the submission of the whole island. The negroes taken in arms are deemed slaves."

VI. The subjects of Great Britain, who have taken refuge in the island for crimes, or condemned to punishments, shall have liberty of retiring.—" Refused."

VII. No others than the inhabitants of this island shall, till the peace, possess any estates, either by acquisition, agreement, or otherwise; but in case at the peace the country shall be ceded to the king of Great Britain, then it shall be permitted to the inhabitants, who shall not be willing to become his subjects, to sell their estates, and to retire to any place they think proper.—" All subjects of Great Britain may possess any lands or houses by purchase. The remainder of this article granted, provided they sell to British subjects."

VIII. The inhabitants and merchants shall enjoy all their privileges of commerce as the subjects of Great Britain.——" Granted; so that it does not affect the privileges of particular companies established in England, or the laws of the kingdom, which prohibit the carrying on trade in other than British bottoms."

Signed by the above-mentioned deputies, and by *Robert Monkton* and *G. B. Rodney*, commanders of his Britannic Majesty's forces by sea and land, the 7th February, 1762.

On the 13th of February a similar capitulation was demanded for the whole island, and granted with the same restrictions.

No. IV. (P. 61.)

Abstract of the Articles of Capitulation agreed upon between Sir George Pocock, Knight of the Bath, and the Earl of Albemarle, and the Marquis of Real Transporte, commander in chief of the squadron of his Catholic Majesty, and Don Juan de Prado, governor of the Havannah, for the surrender of the city, and all its dependencies, with all the Spanish ships in the harbour.

Preliminary Article.—Fort La Punta and the land-gate shall be delivered to his Britannic Majesty's troops to-morrow morning, the 13th of August, at twelve o'clock; at which time it is expected the following articles of capitulation shall be signed and ratified.

Article I. The garrison, consisting of the infantry, artillerymen, and dragoons, the different militia of the towns in the island, shall march out of the land-gate the 20th instant, provided in that time no relief arrives, so as to raise the siege, with all the military honours, arms shouldered, six field-pieces of twelve pounders each, and as many rounds to each soldier; the regiments shall take out with them the military chests. And the governor shall have six covered waggons which are not to be examined upon any pretence whatever.—"The garrison shall have the honours of war, and shall march out of the Punta gate with two pieces of cannon, and six rounds for each gun. The military chest refused. The governor will be allowed as many boats as necessary to transport his baggage and effects on board the ships destined for him. The military without the town, as well as those within, to deliver up their arms to the British commissary."

II. The marines, and the ships crews who have served on shore, shall obtain, on their going out, the same honours as the

garrison of the city; and shall proceed with those honours on board the said ships, that they may, together with their commander in chief, Don Gulierres de Ilevia, marquis del Real Transporte, sail in the said ships as soon as the port is open, with all their money and effects, in order to proceed to some other port belonging to Spain, in doing which they will oblige themselves, that, during their navigation to their destined port, they shall not attack any vessels belonging to his Britannic Majesty, his subjects or allies. Likewise liberty shall be granted to the marines and ships crews, with their officers, to go on board the said ships, and carry with them the effects and money in the city belonging to his Catholic Majesty.—" The marquis of Real Transporte, with his officers, sailors and marines, as making part of the garrison, shall be treated in every respect as the governor and regular troops. All ships in the Havannah, and all money and effects belonging to his Catholic Majesty, shall be delivered up to persons appointed by Sir George Pocock and the earl of Albemarle."

III. That the Roman Catholic religion shall be maintained and preserved in the same manner as it has hitherto been in all the dominions belonging to his Catholic Majesty; and the different orders, colleges and universities remain in the full enjoyment of all their rights.—" Granted."

IV. That, in consideration that this port is situated by nature for the relief of those who navigate in those parts of Spanish and British America, that this port shall be allowed to be neutral to the subjects of his Catholic Majesty; who are to be admitted in and out freely, to take in such refreshments as they may be in need of, as well as repairing their vessels, paying the current prices for every thing, and that they are not to be insulted nor interrupted in their navigation by any vessels belonging to his Britannic Majesty, or his subjects or allies, from the capes Caloche, on the coast of Campeche, and that of St. Antonio to the westward of this island, nor from the Tortuga bank to this port; and from hence till they get into the latitude of 33 degrees north, till both their Majesties agree to the contrary.— - " Refused."

V. That the effects detained in this city belonging to the merchants of Cadiz, which have arrived here in the different register ships, and in which are interested all the European nations, a sufficient passport shall be granted to the supercargoes thereof, that they may freely remit the same with the register ships, without running the risk of being insulted in their passage.—— ' Refused."

VI. That those civil or other officers, who have had charge of

the management of the administration and distribution of the royal treasure, or any other affair of a peculiar nature from his Catholic Majesty, they are to be left with the free use of all those papers which concern the discharge of their duty, with free liberty to carry them to Spain for that purpose ; and the same shall be understood with the managers of the royal company in this city.—" All public papers to be delivered to the secretaries of the admiral and general for inspection, which shall be returned to his Catholic Majesty's officers, if not found necessary for the government of the island."

(Signed) ALBEMARLE.
G. POCOCK.

EL MARQUES DEL REAL TRANSPORTE.
JUAN DE PRADO.

No. V. (P. 93.)

Abstract of the principal Articles of the Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship between his Britannic Majesty, the Most Christian King, and the king of Spain ; concluded at Paris the 10th day of February, 1763. To which the king of Portugal acceded on the same day.

BE it known to all those to whom it shall or may in any manner belong. It has pleased the Most High to diffuse the spirit of concord and union among the princes, whose divisions had spread troubles in the four quarters of the globe. For this purpose the high contracting parties have named and appointed their respective ambassadors, his sacred Majesty the king of Great Britain, John duke of Bedford; his sacred Majesty the Most Christian King, Gabriel De Choiseul duke of Praslin; his sacred Majesty the Catholic King, Don Jerome marquis of Grimaldi ; his sacred Majesty the Most Faithful King, Martin de Mello and Castro; who, having duly communicated to each other their full powers, have agreed upon the articles, the tenor of which is as follows.

ARTICLE I. There shall be a Christian, universal, and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and con

stant friendship shall be re-established between the before-mentioned sovereigns; and a general oblivion of every thing that may have been done or committed before or since the commencement of the æra that is just ended.

II. The former treaties concluded between the respective kingdoms are hereby renewed and confirmed in the best form, and serve as the basis of the present definitive treaty.

III. The prisoners made on all sides, and the hostages carried away or given during the war, shall be restored without ransom, each crown respectively paying the advances made for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained.

IV. His Most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed, or might form to Nova Scotia, or Acadia, in all its parts; and guarantees the whole of it, with all its dependencies, to the king of Great Britain: moreover, his Most Christian Majesty cedes and guarantees to his Britannic Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence, and in general every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands, and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, and possession, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the crown of France has had till now over the said places. His Britannic Majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada.

V. The subjects of France shall have the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, such as it is specified in the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht; and his Britannic Majesty consents to leave to the subjects of the Most Christian King the liberty of fishing in the Gulf St. Lawrence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain.

VI. The king of Great Britain cedes the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right to his Most Christian Majesty, to serve as shelter to the French fishermen; and his Most Christian Majesty engages not to fortify the said islands, to erect no buildings upon them but merely for the convenience of the fishery, and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for the police.

VII. In order to re-establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all subject of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America, it is agreed that, for the future, the confines

between the dominions of the respective crowns in that part of the world shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea; and for this purpose the Most Christian King cedes in full right the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he possessed on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island in which it is situated.

VIII. The king of Great Britain shall restore to France the islands of Guadaloupe, of Marie-Galante, of Desirade, of Martinico, and Belleisle; and the fortresses of these islands shall be restored in the same condition they were in when they were conquered by the British arms.

IX. The Most Christian King cedes and guarantees to his Britannic Majesty the islands of Grenada and of the Grenadines; and the partition of the islands called neutral is agreed and fixed, so that those of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, shall remain in full right to Great Britain, and that of St. Lucia shall be delivered to France to enjoy the same likewise in full right.

X. His Britannic Majesty restores to France the island of Goree; and his Most Christian Majesty cedes to Great Britain the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Lewis, Podor, and Galam.

XI. In the East Indies, Great Britain shall restore to France the different factories which that crown possessed on the coast of Coromandel and Malabar, as also in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. His Most Christian Majesty shall restore, on his side, all that he may have conquered in the East Indies during the present war.

XII. The island of Minorca shall be restored to his Britannic Majesty as well as Fort St. Philippe; and the town and port of Dunkirk shall be put into the state fixed by the last treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

XIII. His Britannic Majesty shall cause to be demolished all the fortifications which his subjects shall have erected in the Bay of Honduras; and his Catholic Majesty shall not permit, on any pretence whatever, the British subjects to be disturbed in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood.

XIV. The king of Great Britain restores to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the island of Cuba, with the fortress of the Havannah; and, in consequence of this restitution, his Catholic Majesty cedes to Great Britain, Florida, with Fort St. Augustine, and the Bay of Pensacola, as well as all

that Spain possessed on the continent of North America, to the east and to the south-east of the river Mississippi.

XV. There is a reciprocal restoration, on all sides, of the conquests made in Germany and Portugal.

XVI. The decision of the prizes, made in time of peace by the subjects of Great Britain on the Spaniards, shall be referred to the courts of justice of the Admiralty of Great Britain, conformable to the rules established among all nations; so that the validity of the said prizes between the British and Spanish nations, shall be decided and judged according to the law of nations, and according to treaties in the courts of justice of the nation who shall have made the capture.

No. VI. (P. 262.)

Abstract of the Declaration signed and delivered by Prince Masserano, Ambassador Extraordinary from his Catholic Majesty, dated the 22d of January, 1771; which was the same day accepted by the Earl of Rochford, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

His Britannic Majesty having complained of the violence which was committed on the 10th of June, 1770, at the island commonly called the Great Malouine, and by the English Falkland's Island, in obliging by force the commander and subjects of his Britannic Majesty to evacuate the port by them called Egmont; a step offensive to the honour of his crown;—the Prince de Masserano has received orders to declare, that his Catholic Majesty considering the desire with which he is animated for peace, and for the maintenance of good harmony with his Britannic Majesty, and reflecting that this event might interrupt it, has seen with displeasure this expedition tending to disturb it; and in the persuasion, in which he is, of the reciprocity of sentiments of his Britannic Majesty, and of its being far from his sentiments to authorize any thing that might disturb the good understanding between the two courts; his Catholic Majesty does disavow the said violent enterprise, and, in conse-

quence, the Prince Masserano declares, that his Catholic Majesty engages to give immediate orders that things shall be restored in the Great Malouine, at the port called Egmont, precisely to the state in which they were before the 10th of June, 1770, for which purpose, his Catholic Majesty will give orders to one of his officers to deliver up, to the officer authorized by his Britannic Majesty, the port and fort called Egmont, with all the artillery, stores, and effects, of his Britannic Majesty and his subjects. The Prince de Masserano declares at the same time, in the name of the king his master, that the engagement to restore the possession of Port Egmont, cannot, nor ought, any ways to affect the question of the prior right of sovereignty of the Malouine Islands, otherwise called Falkland's Islands.

No. VII. (P. 263.)

The Protest of the Lords against an Address to his Majesty to return thanks for his firm and spirited conduct in demanding satisfaction for the violent enterprise against Falkland's Islands.

DISSENTIENT, I. Because it is highly unsuitable to the wisdom and gravity of this house, and to the respect which we owe to his Majesty and ourselves, to carry up to the throne an address, approving the acceptance of an imperfect instrument, which has neither been previously authorized by any special full powers produced by the Spanish minister, nor been as yet ratified by the king of Spain. If the ratification on the part of Spain should be refused, the address of this house will appear no better than an act of precipitate adulation to ministers; which will justly expose the peerage of the kingdom to the indignation of their country, and to the derision of all Europe.

II. Because it is a direct insult on the feelings and understanding of the people of Great Britain, to approve this declaration and acceptance, as a means of securing our own and the general tranquillity, whilst the greatest preparations for war are making both by sea and land.

III. Because, from the declaration and correspondence laid before us, we are of opinion that the ministers merit the censure of this house, rather than any degree of commendation, on account of several improper acts, and equally improper omissions, from the beginning to the close of this transaction: for it is asserted by the Spanish ministers that several discussions had passed which might give the British ministers reason to foresee the attack upon that settlement that was afterwards made by the forces of Spain. Captain Hunt also arriving from them, gave them the same intimations; yet so obstinately negligent and supine were his Majesty's ministers, that they did not even make a single representation to the court of Spain; which might have prevented the injury, and saved the enormous expence and manifold hardships which the nation has suffered in preparing to resent it.

IV. Because the negociation entered into much too late, was, from the commencement, conducted on principles as disadvantageous to the wisdom of our public councils, as it was finally concluded in a manner disgraceful to the crown of Great Britain; for it appears that the court of Madrid did disavow the act of hostility, as proceeding from particular instructions, but justified it under her general instructions to her governors; under the oath by them taken, and under the established laws of America.

V. Because nothing has been had or demanded as a reparation in damage for the enormous expence and other inconveniencies, arising from the unprovoked and confessed violence of the Spanish forces in the enterprise against Falkland's Island, and the long subsequent delay of justice.

VI. Because an unparalleled and most audacious insult has been offered to the honour of the British flag, by the detention of a ship of war of his Majesty's, for twenty days after the surrender of Port Egmont, and by the indignity of forcibly taking away her rudder. No reparation in honour is demanded for this wanton insult, by which his Majesty's reign is rendered the unhappy æra in which the honour of the British flag has suffered the first stain with entire impunity.

VII. Because the declaration by which his Majesty is to obtain possession of Port Egmont, contains a reservation or condition of the question of the claim of prior right, being the first time such a claim has ever authentically appeared in any public instrument concluded on by the two courts.

The above was signed by sixteen peers.

No. VIII. (P. 266.)

An Account of the Naval Review at Portsmouth, in June 1773.

Early in the morning on Tuesday the 22d instant, the king set out from Kew for Portsmouth, and, being arrived at Portsea Bridge, between ten and eleven the same morning, was received by a royal salute of twenty-one guns. His Majesty then proceeded to the first barrier, when Major-general Parker, who commanded the garrison during the royal residence at Portsmouth, delivered the keys to the king, who was pleased to return them. On his Majesty's entering the Grand Port Gate, he was saluted by a triple discharge of two hundred and thirty-two pieces of cannon mounted on the ramparts of Portsmouth, at Blockhouse Fort, and at South Sea Castle. His Majesty proceeded through the town out of the Water-gate to the dock-yard, and arrived at the commissioner's house ten minutes before eleven o'clock, where he was received by the president of the council, and several other of the great officers of state, the commissioners of the Admiralty, and the three admirals of the squadron at Spithead. The officers and workmen belonging to the yard, gave three cheers as his Majesty entered, and then returned to their several employments. After his Majesty had taken some refreshment, he went to the governor's house, where he had a public levee, and then returning to the dock-yard, embarked at half an hour after one in a barge in which the royal standard was immediately hoisted. His Majesty then proceeded to Spithead, attended by the barge of the board of Admiralty, with the flag of their office, the three admirals with their flags, and all the captains of the fleet with their pendants in their barges. As his Majesty passed the garrison, he was saluted by twenty-one guns from the Blockhouse Fort, Saluting Platform, and South Sea Castle. When the royal standard was seen by the fleet at Spithead, consisting of twenty ships of the line, two frigates, and three sloops, moored in two lines abreast of each other, the whole manned ships, and saluted with twenty-one guns each. The king went on board the Barfleur of ninety guns, where he was received by the board of Admiralty, the captain being at the head of the accommodation ladder, and the side manned by the lieutenants

of the ships. As soon as his Majesty passed the guard of marines on the quarter-deck, the flag of the lord-high admiral, which was then flying, was struck, and the royal standard hoisted at the main-top-mast head, the lord-high admiral's flag at the fore-top-mast head, and the union flag at the mizen-top-mast head: on the right of which, all the ships, except the Barfleur, saluted with twenty-one guns each. The ships being cleared as for action, and the officers and men at their respective quarters, his Majesty, after the nobility who came off upon this occasion, and the flag-officers had paid their duty to him on the quarter-deck, walked fore and aft on the lower gun-deck, and took a view of the whole. His Majesty then dined on board the Barfleur, and after dinner went into the Augusta yacht, and after making the circle of the fleet, sailed into the harbour. Similar ceremonies were repeated during the four following days, in which time the king made several naval promotions, knighted many admirals, and distributed money to the sailors and workmen.

No. IX. (P. 420.)

LIST OF THE BRITISH FLEET, AT SAILING.

LINE OF BATTLE.

Monarch to lead on the starboard tack—Ramillies on the larboard tack.

Rates.	Ships.	Guns	Men.	Commanders.	Frigates.	Guns.	
3	Monarch	74	600	Capt. Rowley.			
	Shrewsbury ..	74	600	Sir John Lockhart Ross.			
	Hector	74	600	Sir John Hamilton.			
	Exeter	64	500	Capt. Nott.			
	Centaur	74	600	Cosby.			
2	Duke	90	750	Brereton.			
	Queen	90	772	Sir Robert Harland, Bart. Vice-admiral of the Red, Commander in 2d post. Capt. Prescot.	Fox	28	Hon.—Windsor.
3	Cumberland..	74	600	Peyton.			
	Berwick	74	600	Hon. Keith Stuart.			
	Stirling Castle	64	500	Sir Charles Douglas, Bart.			
	Thunderer ..	74	600	Hon. Boyle Walsingham.			
	Courageux ..	74	600	Right Hon. Lord Mulgrave.			
2	Sandwich	90	750	Capt. Edwards.			
3	Valiant	74	600	Hon. Levison Gower.	Proserpine.	28	—— Sutton.
				Hon. Augustus Keppel, Admiral of the Blue, Commander-in-chief.	Andromeda.	32	
					Pluto.		a fire-ship.
1	Victory.....	100	894		Arethusa.	32	—— Marshal.
				Rear-admiral Campbell.	Vulcan.		a fire-ship.
				Capt. Falkener.	Meda.	32	—— Montagu.
3	Foudroyant ..	80	650	Jarvis.	Rattlesnake		a cutter.
2	Prince George	90	750	Sir John Lindsey, K. B.			
3	Bienfaisant ..	64	500	Capt. M'Bride.			
	Vengeance...	74	600	Clements.			
	Vigilant	64	500	Kingsmill.			
	Worcester ..	64	500	Capt. Robinson.			
	Elizabeth	74	600	Hon. F. Maitland.			
	Defiance	64	500	Capt. Goodal.			
	Robuste	74	600	Hood.			
2	Formidable ..	90	772	Sir Hugh Palliser, Bart. Vice-admiral of the Blue, Commander in 3d. post. Capt. Bazely.	Milford.	32	Sir W. Burnaby.
	Ocean	90	750	Latorey.			
3	America	64	500	Right Hon. Lord Longford.			
	Egmont	74	600	Capt. Allen.			
	Terrible	74	600	Sir Richard Bickerton, Bart.			
	Ramillies	74	600	Hon. Robert Digby.			

The Resolution and Defence, of 74 guns each, sailed afterwards, and joined the fleet.

32 ships of the line, mounting 2428 guns, and carrying 19788 men, 6 frigates, and 2 fire-ships.

A complete List of the French fleet under the command of Monsieur D'Orvilliers, admiral, Count Du Chaffault, vice-admiral, and the Duc De Chartres rear-admiral.

Ships.	Guns.	Men.
La Bretagne	110	1200
Ville de Paris	90	950
St. Esprit	80	920
Couronne	80	920
D. De Bourgogne	80	920
Diademe	70	800
Glorieux	74	800
Conquerant	74	800
Zodiac	74	800
Intrepide	74	800
Palmier	74	800
L'Actif	74	800
Fendent	74	800
Orient	74	800
Magnifique	74	800
Robuste	74	800
Bon Amie	74	800
La Dauph. Royale	74	800
Reflechi	64	650
Vengeur	64	650
Triton	64	650
Alexandre	64	650
Sphinx	64	650
Solitaire	64	650
St. Michael	64	650
Artifien	64	650
Eveille	64	650
Actionnaire	64	650
Rolande	64	650
Indien	64	650
Amphion	50	500
Fier	50	500

13 frigates, and 4 store-ships.

32 ships of the line mounting 2270 guns, carrying 24,110 men.

N. B. The above ships were all in the action of the 27th of July, except the Duc De Bourgogne and the Alexandre, who were separated from the fleet in a gale of wind on the 25th.

No. X. (P. 425.)

ADMIRAL KEPPEL'S LETTER TO THE ADMIRALTY.

Victory, at sea, July 30, 1778.

Sir,

My letters of the 23d and 24th instant, by the Peggy and Union cutters, acquainted you, for their lordships' information, that I was in pursuit, with the king's fleet under my command, of a numerous fleet of French ships of war.

From that time till the 27th, the winds constantly in the S. W. and N. W. quarters, sometimes blowing strong, and the French fleet always to windward going off, I made use of every method to close in with them that was possible, keeping the king's ships, at the same time, collected, as much as the nature of a pursuit would admit of, and which became necessary from the

cautious manner the French proceeded in, and the disinclination that appeared in them to allow of my bringing the king's ships close up to a regular engagement: this left but little other chance of getting in with them, than by seizing the opportunity that offered, the morning of the 27th, by the wind's admitting of the van of the king's fleet under my command, leading up with, and closing with, their centre and rear.

The French began firing upon the headmost of Vice-admiral Sir Robert Harland's division, and the ships with him, as they led up; which cannonade the leading ships, and the vice-admiral soon returned, as did every ship that could close up: the chace had occasioned their being extended; nevertheless they were all soon in battle.

The fleets, being upon different tacks, passed each other very close; the object of the French seemed to be the disabling of the king's ships in their masts and sails, in which they so far succeeded as to prevent many of the ships of my fleet being able to follow me when I wore to stand after the French fleet; this obliged me to wear again to join those ships, and thereby allowed of the French forming their fleet again, and ranging it in a line to leeward of the king's fleet towards the close of the day; which I did not discourage, but allowed of their doing it without firing upon them, thinking they meant handsomely to try their force with us the next morning; but they had been so beaten in the day, that they took the advantage of the night to go off.

The wind and weather being such that they could reach their own shores before there was any chance of the king's fleet getting up with them, in the state the ships were in in their masts, yards, and sails, left me no choice of what was proper and advisable to do.

The spirited conduct of Vice-admiral Sir Robert Harland, Vice-admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, and the captains of the fleet, supported by their officers and men, deserves much commendation.

A list of the killed and wounded is herewith inclosed.

I send Captain Faulkener, captain of the Victory, with this account to their lordships, and am, Sir,

Your most obedient,

And very humble servant,

A. KEPPEL.

Philip Stephens, Esq. secretary to the Admiralty.

List of men killed and wounded, in the action with the French fleet, the 27th of July, 1778.

Ships' names.	Killed.	Wounded.	Ships' names.	Killed.	Wounded.
Monarch	2	9	Prince George	5	15
Exeter	4	6	Vengeance	4	18
Queen	1	2	Worcester	3	5
Shrewsbury	3	6	Elizabeth	0	7
Berwick	10	11	Defiance	8	17
Stirling Castle	2	11	Robuste	5	17
Courageux	6	13	Formidable	16	49
Thunderer	2	5	Ocean	2	18
Vigilant	2	3	America	1	17
Sandwich	2	20	Terrible	9	21
Valiant	6	26	Egmont	12	19
Victory	11	24	Ramillies	12	16
Foudroyant	5	18			
			Total	133	373

No. XI. (P. 442.)

On the 30th of December, the Duke of Bolton delivered to his Majesty, in his closet, at St. James's, the following Memorial of the Admirals.

TO THE KING.

We the subscribing admirals of your Majesty's royal navy, having hitherto on all occasions served your Majesty with zeal and fidelity, and being desirous of devoting every action of our lives, and our lives themselves to your Majesty's service, and the defence of our country, think ourselves indispensably bound by our duty to that service and that country, with all possible humility, to represent to your wisdom and justice,

That Sir Hugh Palliser, vice-admiral of the blue, lately serving under the command of the honourable Augustus Keppel, did prefer certain articles of accusation, containing several matters of heinous offence against his said commander in chief, to the lords commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain, he the said Sir Hugh Palliser being himself a commissioner in the said commission. This accusation he the said Sir Hugh Palliser with-held from the twenty-seventh

day of July last, the time of the supposed offences committed, until the ninth day of this present December, and then brought forward for the purpose of recrimination against charges conjectured by him the said Sir Hugh Palliser, but which in fact were never made.

That the commissioners of the Admiralty, near five months after the pretended offences aforesaid, did receive from their said colleague in office, the charge made by him against his said commander, and without taking into consideration the relative situation of the accuser and the party accused, or attending to the avowed motives of the accusation, or the length of time of with-holding, or the occasion of making the same, and without any other deliberation whatever, did, on the very same day on which the charge was preferred, and without previous notice to the party accused of an intention of making a charge against him, give notice of their intending that a court-martial should be held on the said Admiral Keppel, after forty years of meritorious service, and a variety of actions in which he had exerted eminent courage and conduct, by which the honour and power of this nation, and the glory of the British flag, had been maintained and increased in various parts of the world.

We beg leave to express to your Majesty our concern at this proceeding, and to represent our apprehensions of the difficulties and discouragements which will inevitably arise to your service therefrom; and that it will not be easy for men, attentive to their honour, to serve your Majesty, particularly in situations of principal command, if the practice now stated to your Majesty be countenanced, or the principles upon which the same has been supported shall prevail with any lord high-admiral, or with any commissioner for executing that office.

We are humbly of opinion, that a criminal charge against an officer (rising in importance according to the rank and command of that officer) which suspends his service to your Majesty, perhaps in the most critical exigencies of the public affairs, which calls his reputation into doubt and discussion, which puts him on trial for his life, profession, and reputation, and which, in its consequences, may cause a fatal cessation in the naval exertions of the kingdom, to be a matter of the most serious nature, and never to be made by authority but on solid ground, and on mature deliberation. The honour of an officer is his most precious possession and best qualification; the public have an interest in it: and whilst those under whom we serve countenance accusation, it is often impossible perfectly to restore military fame by the mere acquittal of a court-martial. Imputations made by high authority remain long, and affect deeply. The sphere of

action of commanders in chief is large, and their business intricate, and subject to great variety of opinion; and before they are to be put on the judgment of others for acts done upon their discretion, the greatest discretion ought to be employed.

Whether the board of Admiralty hath by law any such discretion, we, who are not of the profession of the law, cannot positively assert; but if we had conceived that this board had no legal use of their reason in a point of such delicacy and importance, we should have known on what terms we served. But we never did imagine it possible, that we were to receive orders from, and be accountable to those who, by law, were reduced to become passive instruments to the possible malice, ignorance, or treason of any individual who might think fit to disarm his Majesty's navy of its best and highest officers. We conceive it disrespectful to the laws of our country to suppose them capable of such manifest injustice and absurdity.

We therefore humbly represent, in behalf of public order, as well as of the discipline of the navy, to your Majesty the dangers of long concealed, and afterwards precipitately adopted charges, and of all recriminatory accusations of subordinate officers against their commanders in chief; and particularly the mischief and scandal of permitting men, who are at once in high civil office, and in subordinate military command, previous to their making such accusations, to attempt to corrupt the public judgment, by the publication of libels on their officers in a common news-paper, thereby exciting mutiny in your Majesty's navy, as well as prejudicing the minds of those who are to try the merits of the accusation against the said superior officer.

HAWKE,
JOHN MOORE,
BOLTON,
SAMUEL GRAVES,
HUGH PIGOT,
ROBERT HARLAND.
BRISTOL,
JAMES YOUNG,
MATTHEW BARTON,
FRANCIS GEARY,
SHULDAM,
CLARK GAYTON.

No. XII. (P. 444).

January 30, 1779.

This morning, at half past ten o'clock, the Court-martial were resumed, and Admiral Keppel delivered the following speech:

THE DEFENCE OF ADMIRAL KEPPEL.

SIR,

AFTER forty years spent in the service of my country, little did I think of being brought to a court-martial to answer to charges of misconduct, negligence in the performance of duty, and tarnishing the honour of the British navy. These charges, Sir, have been advanced by my accuser. Whether he has succeeded in proving them or not the court will determine. Before he brought me to a trial, it would have been candid in him to have given vent to his thoughts, and not by a deceptious shew of kindness to lead me into the mistake of supposing a friend in the man who was my enemy in his heart, and was shortly to be my accuser. Yet, Sir, after all my misconduct; after so much negligence in the performance of duty, and after tarnishing so deeply the honour of the British navy, my accuser made no scruple to sail a second time with the man who had been the betrayer of his country! Nay, during the time we were on shore, he corresponded with me on terms of friendship, and even in his letters he approved of what had been done, of the part which he now condemns, and of the very negligent misconduct, which has since been so offensive in his eyes!

Such behaviour, Sir, on the part of my accuser, gave me little reason to apprehend an accusation from him. Nor had I any reason to suppose that the state would criminate me. When I returned, his Majesty received me with the greatest applause. Even the first lord of the Admiralty gave his flattering testimony to the rectitude of my conduct, and seemed with vast sincerity to applaud my zeal for the service. Yet in the moment of approbation, it seems as if a scheme was concerting against my life; for, without any previous notice, five articles of a charge were exhibited against me by Sir Hugh Palliser, who, most unfortunately for his cause, lay himself under an imputation of disobedience of orders, at the very time when he accused me of

negligence! This to be sure was a very ingenious mode of getting the start of me. An accusation exhibited against a commander in chief might draw off the public attention from neglect of duty in an inferior officer. I could almost wish, in pity to my accuser, that appearances were not so strong against him. Before the trial commenced, I actually thought that my accuser might have some tolerable reasons for his conduct. But from the evidence, even as adduced to account for the behaviour of the honourable gentleman in the afternoon of the 27th of July, from that evidence, I say, Sir, I find that I was mistaken. The trial has left my accuser without excuse, and he now cuts that sort of figure which, I trust in God, all accusers of innocence will ever exhibit.

I have observed, Sir, that the opinions of officers of different ranks have been taken. I trust that the court will indulge me with the same liberty, in the evidence for my defence. Some have refused to give their opinions. I thought it strange, as plain speaking, and a full declaration, are the best of evidences in a good cause.

I would wish, Sir, the court to consider, that in all great naval, as well as military operations, unless the design be fully known, the several manœuvres may have a strange appearance. Masters have been called to give their opinions on the higher departments of command. Higher authorities should have been taken. Such authorities are not scarce, for I am happy to say, there never was a country served by naval officers of more bravery, skill, and gallantry, than England can boast at present. As to this court, I intreat you, gentlemen, who compose it, to recollect, that you sit here as a court of honour, as well as a court of justice, and I now stand before you, not merely to save my life, but for a purpose of infinitely greater moment—to clear my fame.

My accuser, Sir, has not been a little mistaken in his notions of the duty of a commander in chief, or he would never have accused me in the manner he has done. During action subordinate officers either are (or they ought to be) too attentive to their own duty to observe the manœuvres of others. In general engagements it is scarcely possible for the same objects to appear in the same point of view to the commanders of two different ships. The point of sight may be different. Clouds of smoke may obstruct the view. Hence will arise the difference in the opinions of officers as to this or that manœuvre, without any intentional partiality. Whether I have conceived objects in exact correspondence with the truth; whether I have viewed them unskilfully (or, as my accuser has been pleased to term it, un-

officer-like), these are matters which remain to be determined. I can only say, that what Sir Hugh Palliser has imputed to me as negligence, was the effect of deliberation and choice. I will add, that I was not confined in my powers when I sailed; I had ample discretion to act as I thought proper for the defence of the kingdom. I manœuvred; I fought; I returned; I did my best. If my abilities were not equal to the task, I have the consolation to think, that I did not solicit, nor did I bargain for the command. More than two years ago, in the month of November, 1776, I received a letter from the first lord of the marine department, wherein he observed, "That owing to motions of foreign courts, it might be necessary to prepare a fleet of observation." My reply to this letter was, "That I was ready to receive any command from his Majesty, and I begged to have the honour of an audience." This request was complied with. I was closeted, and I told the king, "that I was willing to serve him as long as my health would permit." I heard no more until the month of March, 1778, at which time I had two or three audiences, and I told his Majesty, that "I had no acquaintance with his ministers, but I trusted to his protection and zeal for the public good." Here were no sinister views; no paltry gratifications; I had nothing, I felt nothing but an earnest desire to serve my country. I even accepted the command-in-chief with reluctance. I was apprehensive of not being supported at home. I foresaw that the higher the command, the more liable was I to be ruined in my reputation. Even my misfortunes, if I had any, might be construed into crimes. During forty years service I have not received any particular mark of favour from the crown. I have only been honoured with the confidence of my sovereign in times of public danger. Neither my deficiencies nor my misconduct were ever before brought forward to the public. And it is now somewhat strange, that so well acquainted as my accuser must have been with my deficient abilities, it is strange, I say, Sir, that he should be the very person who brought me the message to take the command upon me; nay, further, Sir, he brought me that message with great seeming pleasure! There was, or there was not reason at that time to doubt my ability. If there was reason, how could my accuser wish me to accept a command for which I was disqualified? If there was not any reason to doubt my professional abilities sixteen months ago, I have given no reason why they should be since called in question. When I returned from the expedition, I did not complain of any thing. I endeavoured to stop all murmurings. I even trusted the first lord of the Admiralty in the same manner as I

would have done my most intimate friend. This might be imprudent. It might be dangerous. But, Sir, I am by nature open and unguarded, and little did I expect that traps would artfully be laid to endeavour to catch me on the authority of my own words.

It was in the month of March 1778, that I was told a fleet lay ready for me to command. When I reached Portsmouth I saw but six ships ready, and, on viewing even those with a seaman's eye, I was not by any means pleased with their condition. Before I quitted Portsmouth, four or five more were ready, and I will do the persons in office the justice to say, that from that time they used the utmost diligence in getting the fleet ready for service. On the 30th of June I sailed with twenty ships of the line, and very fortunately fell in with the Belle Poule and other French frigates; and the letters and papers found on board them were of material service to the state. Captain Marshall distinguished himself with the greatest honour. I confess that when I fell in with those frigates I was at a loss how to act. On the one hand, I conceived the incident to be favourable to my country, and on the other, I was fearful that a war with France and all its consequences might be laid to my charge. For any thing I can tell, this may yet be the case. It may be treasured up to furnish another matter for future accusation. To this hour I have neither received official approbation or censure for my conduct. With twenty ships of the line I sailed. Thirty-two ships of the line lay in Brest water, besides an incredible number of frigates. Was I to seek an engagement with a superior force? I never did, nor shall I ever fear to engage a force superior to the one I then commanded, or that I may hereafter command. But I well know what men and ships can do, and if the fleet I commanded had been destroyed, we must have left the French masters of the sea. To refit a fleet requires time. From the situation of affairs, naval stores are not very soon supplied. Never did I experience so deep a melancholy as when I found myself forced to turn my back on France! I quitted my station, and courage was never put to so severe a trial.

I was permitted to sail a second time, without receiving official praise or blame for the part I had acted. These were discouraging circumstances. But they did not disturb my temper. My principal object was, to get ready for sea with all possible haste. I was surprised on my return to be threatened with the fate of Admiral Byng, and I was still more surprised to be charged with cowardice.

With thirty ships of the line I sailed early in July. The

French admiral sailed from Brest with thirty-two ships. I believe that, when the fleets came in sight of each other, the French were not a little surprised to see me so strong. I desire not to throw the slightest imputation on the courage of the French admiral. I believe him to be a brave man, and one who had some particular reasons for the line of conduct he pursued. I was determined, if possible, to bring the French to battle, as I had every reason to think, that their having avoided an engagement, when it was for four days in their power to attack me, was owing to their expecting some capital reinforcements. I therefore thought, that the sooner I could engage them the better, especially as I knew that the principal fleets of our trade were daily expected in the channel, and if the French fleets had been permitted to disperse without an action, our East and West India fleets might have been intercepted, the convoys might have been cut off, and the stake of England might have been lost. I beg leave to mention, that, in the reign of King William, the gallant Admiral Russel was two months in sight of a French fleet, and he could not possibly bring them to action. My being in sight of the French fleet four days before the engagement, will not, therefore, appear to be so extraordinary as it has been represented. Had it not been for the favourable change of wind on the morning of the 27th of July, I could not have brought the French to action when I did.

I am exceedingly sorry, Sir, that the Admiralty have refused me the liberty of producing my instructions. In all former courts-martial, the instructions and orders have been sent with the charge to the members of the court. As it has been denied in this instance, I must, and do submit.

Although, on the 27th of July I fought and beat my enemy, and compelled him to take shelter by returning into port; yet the effort did, by no means, answer my wishes. I rushed on to re-attack the enemy. Why I did not accomplish my design, will be seen in the evidence I shall produce. I might, it is true, have chaced the three ships which were visible on the morning of the 28th of July, but with very little prospect of success. I therefore chose to return to Plymouth with my shattered fleet, to get ready for sea again, not, however, forgetting to leave two ships of the line to cruise for the protection of our trading fleets, which, thank God, all arrived safe.

On my return, Sir, I most cautiously avoided to utter a syllable of complaint, because it might have suspended our naval operations, which, at that time, would have been highly dangerous I could not think of attending to a court-martial, when greater objects were in view.

With respect to the second edition of the Formidable's log-book, it appears to have been fabricated rather for the purpose of exculpating the prosecutor than to criminate me. I shall, therefore, pass it over, and permit the gentleman to make the most of such an exculpation. I cannot, however, be so civil to the alterations and additions in the log-book of the Robuste Captain Hood's conduct must have struck the court, as I believe it did every person, except the prosecutor, with astonishment.

A great stress, Sir, has been laid on my letter to the Admiralty. There is a passage in it where I seemed to approve the conduct of every officer in the fleet. The court will observe, that I was not in my letter to inform all Europe, that a vice-admiral under my command had been guilty of neglect, whilst there remained a possibility of excuse for his conduct. As to courts-martial, one very bad consequence will, I am sure, result from this trial . it will terrify a commander-in-chief from accepting a commission, if he should be liable to be brought to a trial by every subordinate officer.

As I have touched on my letters, I will just observe, Sir, that the most disagreeable task I ever experienced was that of writing my letter of the 30th of July. However, if I writ ill, I am confident that I fought well; and the desertion of the trade of France was evident from the numbers of rich captures which we made: a number far exceeding any thing ever known in so short a period! His Majesty noticed this in a speech from the throne.

Mr. President, I now desire that the judge-advocate may be directed to read the charge, and I will answer the several accusations.

THE REPLIES OF ADMIRAL KEPPEL TO THE CHARGES AGAINST HIM.

The first of the Charges contained in the First Article, is,

"That, on the morning of the 27th of July, 1778, having a fleet of thirty ships of the line under my command, and being then in the presence of a French fleet of the like number of ships of the line, I did not make the necessary preparations for fight."

To this I answer, That I have never understood preparations for fight to have any other meaning in the language and understanding of seamen, than that each particular ship, under the direction and discipline of her own officers, when in pursuit of

an enemy, be in every respect cleared, and in readiness for action; the contrary of which, no admiral of a fleet, without a reasonable cause, will presume: and as from the morning of the 24th, when the French fleet had got to windward, to the time of the action, the British fleet was in unremitting pursuit of them, it is still more difficult to conceive that any thing more is meant by this charge, than what is immediately after conveyed by the charge that follows it; *viz.* "That on the same morning of the 27th, I did not put my fleet into line of battle, or into any order proper either for receiving or attacking an enemy of such force."

By the second part of the charge, I feel myself attacked in the exercise of that great and broad line of discretion, which every officer, commanding either fleets or armies, is often obliged, both in duty and conscience, to exercise to the best of his judgment; and which, depending on circumstances and situations infinitely various, cannot be reduced to any positive rule of discipline or practice:—a discretion which, I submit to the court, I was peculiarly called upon, by the strongest and best motives, to exercise, which I therefore did exercise, and which, in my public letter to the board of Admiralty, I openly avowed to have exercised. I admit, that on the morning of the 27th of July, I did not put my fleet into a line of battle, because I had it not in my choice to do so, consistently with the certainty, or even the probability, of either giving or being given battle, and because, if I had not scrupulously adhered to that order, in which, if the election had been mine, I should have chosen to have received or attacked a willing enemy, I should have had no enemy either to receive or attack.

I shall, therefore, in answer to this charge, submit to the court my reasons for determining to bring the enemy to battle at all events, and shall shew that any other order than that in which my fleet was conducted, from my first seeing them to the moment of the action, was incompatible with such determination.

In order to this, I must call the attention of the court to a retrospective view of the motions of the two fleets, from their first coming in sight of each other.

On my first discovering the French fleet at one o'clock in the afternoon of the 23d of July, I made the necessary signals for forming my fleet in the order of battle, which I effected towards the evening, and brought to by signal, and lay till the morning, when, perceiving that the French fleet had gained the wind during the night, and carried a pressed sail to preserve it, I discontinued the signal for the line, and made the general signal to

chace to windward, in hopes that they would join battle with me, rather than suffer two of their capital ships to be entirely separated from them, and give me a chance of cutting off a third, which had carried away a top-mast in the night, and which, but for a shift of wind, I must have taken. In this, however, I was disappointed; for they suffered two of them to go off altogether, and continued to make every use of the advantage of the wind.

This assiduous endeavour of the French admiral to avoid coming to action, which, from his having the wind, was always in his option, led me to believe that he expected a reinforcement. This reflection would alone have been sufficient to determine me to urge my pursuit, in as collected a body as the nature of such a pursuit would admit of, without the delay of the line, and to seize the first opportunity of bringing on an engagement.

But I had other reasons no less urgent.

If, by obstinately adhering to the line of battle, I had suffered, as I inevitably must, the French fleet to have been separated from me; and if, by such separation, the English convoys from the East and West Indies, then expected home, had been cut off, or the coast of England had been insulted, what would have been my situation!—Sheltered under the forms of discipline, I might, perhaps, have escaped punishment, but I could not have escaped censure. I should neither have escaped the contempt of my fellow-citizens, nor the reproaches of my own conscience.

Moved by these important considerations, supported by the examples of Admiral Russel, and other great commanders, who, in similar situations, had ever made strict orders give way to reasonable enterprise; and particularly encouraged by the remembrance of having myself served under that truly great officer, Lord Hawke, when, rejecting all rules and forms, he grasped at victory by an irregular attack, I determined not to lose sight of the French fleet, by being out-sailed from preserving the line of battle, but to keep my fleet as well collected as I could, and near enough to assist and act with each other, in case a change of wind, or other favourable circumstances, should enable me to force the French fleet to action.

Such were my feelings and reflections when the day broke on the morning of the 27th of July, at which time the fleet under my command was in the following position: Vice-admiral Sir Robert Harland was about four miles distant on the Victory's weather quarter, with most of the ships of his own division, and some of those belonging to the centre. Vice-admiral Sir Hugh

Palliser at about three miles distant, a point before the lee-beam of the Victory, with his main-sail up, which obliged the ships of his division to continue under an easy sail.

The French fleet was as much to windward, and at as great a distance as it had been the preceding morning, standing with a fresh wind at south-west, close hauled on the larboard-tack, to all appearance avoiding me with the same industry it ever had done.

At this time, therefore, I had no greater inducement to form the line, than I had the morning of the former day; and I could not have formed it without greatly increasing my distance from the French fleet, contrary to that plan of operation, which I have already submitted to the judgment of the court.

The vice-admiral of the blue next charges, "That although my fleet was already dispersed and in disorder, I, by making the signal for several ships in his division to chace to windward, increased the disorder of that part of my fleet, and that the ships were, in consequence, more scattered than they had been the day before; and that, whilst in this disorder, I advanced to the enemy, and made the signal for battle."

In this part of the charge there is a studious design to mislead the understanding, and, by leaving out times and intermediate events, to make the transactions of half a day appear but as one moment. It is, indeed, impossible to read it, without being possessed with the idea, that at half past five in the morning, when I made the signal for six of the ships of the vice-admiral of the blue's division to chace to windward, I was in the immediate prospect of closing with an enemy, approaching me in a regular line, and all their motions plainly indicating a design to give battle—instead of which, both the fleets were on the larboard-tack, the enemy's fleet near three leagues, if not more, to windward, going off close by the wind with a pressed sail.—My reason, therefore, for making that signal at half past five was, to collect as many ships to windward as I could, in order to strengthen the main body of the fleet, in case I should be able to get to action, and to fill up the interval between the Victory and the vice-admiral, which was occasioned by his being far to leeward; and it is plain that the vice-admiral must have himself understood the object of the signal, since it has appeared in the course of the evidence, that, on its being made, the Formidable set her main-sail, and let the reefs out of her top-sail; and, indeed, the only reason why it was not originally made for the whole division, was, that they must have then chaced as a division, which would have retarded the best going ships by an attendance on the vice-admiral.

Things were in this situation, when, at half past nine, the French admiral tacked, and wore his whole fleet, and stood to the southward, on the starboard tack, close hauled; but the wind immediately after they wore about, coming more southerly, I continued to stand on till a quarter past ten, at which time I tacked the British fleet together by signal. Soon after we wore about, on the starboard tack, the wind came two points in our favour to the westward, which enabled us to lie up for a part of them; but in a dark squall that soon after came on, I lost sight of the enemy for above half an hour, and when it cleared away at eleven o'clock, I discovered the French fleet had changed their position, and were endeavouring to form the line on the larboard tack, which finding they could not effect without coming within gun-shot of the van of the British fleet, they edged down, and fired on my headmost ships, as they approached them on the contrary tack, at a quarter after eleven, which was instantly returned; and then, and not till then, I made the signal for battle. All this happened in about half an hour, and must have been owing to the enemy's falling to leeward in performing their evolution during the squall, which we could not see, and by that means produced this sudden and unexpected opportunity of engaging them, as they were near three leagues a-head of me when the squall came on.

If, therefore, by making the signal for the line of battle, when the van of my fleet was thus suddenly getting within reach of the enemy, and well connected with the centre, as my accuser himself has admitted, I had called back the vice-admiral of the red, the French fleet might either have formed their line compleat, and have come down upon my fleet while in the confusion of getting into order of battle, or (what I had still greater reason to apprehend) might have gone off to windward out of my reach altogether; for even as it was, the enemy's van, instead of coming close to action, kept their wind, and passed hardly within random shot.

My accuser next asserts, as an aggravation of his former charge,

"That the French fleet was in a regular line on that tack which approached the British fleet, all their motions plainly indicating a design to give battle."

Both which facts have already been contradicted by the testimony of even his own witnesses: that the enemy's fleet was not in a regular line of battle, appeared by the French admiral being out of his station, far from the centre of his line, and next, or very near, to a ship carrying a vice-admiral's flag, and from some of their ships being a-breast of each other, and in one, as they

passed the English fleet, with other apparent marks of irregularity. Indeed every motion of the French fleet, from about nine, when it went upon the starboard tack, till the moment of the action, and even during the action itself, I apprehend to be decisive against the alleged indication of designing battle; for if the French admiral had really designed to come to action, I apprehend he never would have got his fleet on the contrary tack to that on which the British fleet was coming up to him, but would have shortened sail and waited for it, formed in the line on the same tack; and even when he did tack towards the British fleet, the alleged indication is again directly refuted, by the van of the French fleet hauling their wind again, instead of bearing down into action, and by their hoisting no colours when they began to engage.

Notwithstanding these incontrovertible truths my accuser imputes it to me that a general engagement was not brought on; but it is evident from the testimony of every witness he has called, that a general engagement was never in my choice; and that so far from its being prevented by my not having formed the line of battle, no engagement, either general or partial, could have been brought on if I had formed it; indeed it is a contradiction in terms to speak of a general engagement, where the fleet that has the wind, tacks to pass the fleet to leeward on the contrary tack.

Such was the manner, in which, after four days pursuit, I was at last enabled by a favourable shift of wind to close with the fleet of France; and if I am justifiable on principle in the exercise of that discretion which I have been submitting to your judgment, of bringing, at all events, an unwilling enemy to battle, I am certainly not called upon to descend to all the minutiæ of consequences resulting from such enterprise, even if such had ensued, as my accuser has asserted, but which his own witnesses have not only failed to establish, but absolutely refuted. It would be an insult on the understanding of the court, were I to offer any arguments, to shew that ships which engage without a line of battle, cannot so closely, uniformly and mutually support each other, as when circumstances admit of a line being formed; because it is self-evident, and is the basis of all the discipline and practice of lines of battle. But in the present case, notwithstanding I had no choice in making my disposition for an attack, nor any possibility of getting to battle otherwise than I did, which would be alone sufficient to repel any charge of consequent irregularity, or even confusion, yet it is not necessary for me to claim the protection of the circumstances under which I acted, because no irregularity or confusion either existed or has been

proved; all the chacing ships, and the whole fleet, except a ship or two, got into battle, and into as close battle as the French fleet, which had the option by being to windward, chose to give them. The vice-admiral of the blue himself, though in the rear, was out of action, in a short time after the Victory, and so far from being left to engage singly and unsupported, was passed during the action by three ships of his own division, and was obliged to back his mizen-top-sail to keep out of the fire of one of the largest ships in the fleet, which must have continued near him all the rest of the time he was passing the French line, as I shall prove she was within three cables length of the Formidable when the firing ceased.

Answer to the Second Article.

The moment the Victory had passed the enemy's rear, my first object was to look round to the position of the fleet which the smoke had till then obscured from observation, in order to determine how a general engagement might best be brought on after the fleet should have passed each other.

I found that the vice-admiral of the red, with part of his division had tacked, and was standing towards the enemy with top gallant sails set, the very thing I am charged with not having directed him to do; but all the rest of the ships that had passed a-head of me were still on the starboard tack, some of them dropping to leeward, and seemingly employed in repairing their damages. The Victory herself was in no condition to tack, and I could not immediately wear and stand back on the ships coming up a-stern of me out of the action (had it been otherwise expedient) without throwing them into the utmost confusion. Sir John Ross, who very gallantly tried the experiment, having informed the court of the momentary necessity he was under of wearing back again to prevent the consequences I have mentioned, makes it unnecessary to enlarge on the probable effect of such a general manœuvre, with all the ships a-head, Indeed I only remark it as a strongly relative circumstance, appearing by the evidence of a very able and experienced officer, and by no means as a justification for having stood away to a great distance beyond the enemy before I wore, because the charge itself is grossly false. In fact, the Victory had very little way while her head was to the southward, and although her damages were considerable, was the first ship of the centre division, that got round towards the enemy again, and some time before the rest were able to follow her, since, even as it was, not above three or four were able to close up with her on the larboard tack; so

that, had it even been practicable to have wore sooner than I did, no good purpose could have been answered by it; hence I must have only wore the sooner back again to have collected the disabled ships which would have been thereby left still farther a-stern.

The Formidable was no otherwise left engaged with the enemy during this short interval than as being in the rear, which must always necessarily happen to ships in that situation, when fleets engage each other on contrary tacks, and no one witness has attempted to speak to the danger my accuser complains of, except his own captain, who, on being called upon to fix the time when such danger was apprehended, stated it to be before the Formidable opened her fire, which renders the application of it as a consequence of the second charge too absurd to demand a refutation.

Answer to the Third Article.

As soon as I had wore to stand towards the enemy, I hauled down the signal for battle, which I judged improper to be kept abroad till the ships could recover their stations, or at least get near enough to support each other in action. In order to call them together for that purpose, I immediately made the signal to form the line of battle a-head of all the centre and red division, I embraced that opportunity of unbending her main-topsail, which was totally unserviceable, and, in doing which, the utmost expedition was used, the ships a-stern of me doing all they could in the mean time to get into their station; so that no time was lost by this necessary operation.

The Formidable was a-head of the Victory during this period, it was her station in the line on that tack. Yet, at the very moment my accuser dares to charge me with not calling the ships together to renew the attack, he himself, though his ship was in a manageable condition, as appeared by the evidence of his own captain, and though he had wore, expecting, as he says, the battle to be renewed, quitted his station in the front of that line of battle, the signal for which was flying, passed to leeward of me on the starboard tack while I was advancing to the enemy, and never came into the line during the rest of the day.

In this situation I judged it necessary that the vice-admiral of the red, who was to windward, and passing forward on my weather-bow, with six or seven ships of his division, should lead on the larboard tack, in order to give time to the ships which

had come last out of action to repair their damages, and get collected together; and the signal appointed by the 31st article of the fighting instructions not being applicable, as the French fleet was so nearly a-head of us, that by keeping close to the wind we could only have fetched them, I made the Proserpine's signal, in order to have dispatched Captain Sutton with a message to Vice-admiral Sir Robert Harland, to lead the fleet to the larboard tack; but, before he left the Victory with the orders he had received, the French fleet wore and stood to the southward, forming their line on the starboard tack, their ships advancing regularly out of a collected body, which they had got into from the operation of wearing, and not from any disorder or confusion which really existed. I could have derived no immediate advantage from it, not having a sufficient force collected to prevent their forming, by an attempt to renew the attack. The Victory was at this time the nearest ship to the enemy, with no more than three or four of the centre division, in any situation to have supported her or each other in action. The vice-admiral of the blue was on the starboard tack, standing away from his station, totally regardless of the signal that was flying to form the line, and most of the other ships, except the red division, whose position, I have already stated, were far a-stern, and five disabled ships at a great distance on the lee-quarter. Most of these facts are already established by the accuser's own evidence. I shall prove and confirm them all by the testimony of that part of the fleet, whose situations will enable them to speak to them with certainty.

I trust they will convince the court, that I had it not in my power to collect the fleet together to renew the fight at that time; and that, from their not being able to follow me, I consequently could not advance with them; that I did not haul down the signal for battle till it ceased to be capable of producing any good effect; that, during the whole time I stood towards the enemy, I endeavoured, by the most forcible of all signals, the signal for the line of battle, to call the ships together, in order to renew the attack; that I did avail myself of the ships that were with the vice-admiral of the red, as far as circumstances admitted; and that I therefore did do the utmost in my power to take, sink, burn, and destroy the French fleet, which had attacked the British fleet.

Answer to the Fourth Article.

The French fleet having wore and begun to form their line on the starboard-tack, by the wind, which, if they had kept,

would have brought them close up with the centre division, soon afterwards edged away, pointing towards four or five of the disabled ships, which were at a distance to leeward, and with evident intention to have separated them from the rest of the fleet; to prevent which, I made the signal to wear, and stood athwart their van, in a diagonal course, to give protection to those crippled ships, keeping the signal for the line flying to form and collect the fleet on the starboard tack. As I had thus been obliged to alter my disposition, before Captain Sutton left the Victory with my former message, I dispatched him with orders to the vice-admiral of the red, to form with his division at a distance a-stern of the Victory, to cover the rear, and keep the enemy in check, till the vice-admiral of the blue should come into his station with his division, in obedience to the signal. These orders the vice-admiral of the red instantly obeyed, and was formed in my wake before four o'clock, when, finding that while by the course I steered to protect the crippled ships, I was nearer the enemy, the vice-admiral of the blue still continued to lie to windward, and by so doing kept his division from joining me, I made the signal for ships to bear down into my wake, and that it might be the better distinguished (both being signals at the mizen-peak), I hauled down the signal for the line for about ten minutes, and then hoisted it again. This signal he repeated, though he had not repeated that for the line of battle; but by not bearing down himself, he led the ships of his division to interpret his repeating it as requiring them to come into his wake instead of mine.

Having now accomplished the protection of the disabled ships, and the French fleet continuing to form their line, ranging up to leeward, parallel to the centre division, my only object was to form mine, in order to bear down upon them to renew the battle; and, therefore, at a quarter before five o'clock, after having repeated the signal for ships to windward to bear down into my wake with no better effect than before, I sent the Milford with orders to the vice-admiral of the red to stretch a-head, and take his station in the line, which he instantly obeyed; and the vice-admiral of the blue being still to windward, with his fore-top-sail unbent, and making no visible effort to obey the signal, which had been flying the whole afternoon, I sent out the Fox, at five o'clock, with orders to him to bear down into my wake, and to tell him, that I only waited for him, and his division, to renew the battle. While I was dispatching these frigates, having before hauled down the signal to come into my wake, I put aboard the signal for all ships to come into their stations, always keeping the signal for the line flying. All this producing no

effect on the vice-admiral of the blue, and wearied out with fruitless expectation, at seven o'clock I made the signal for each particular ship of the vice-admiral of the blue's division to come into her station; but, before they had accomplished it, night put an end to all farther operations.

It may be observed, that, amongst these signals, I did not make the Formidable's. If the vice-admiral chuses to consider this as a culpable neglect, I can only say, that it occurred to me to treat him with a delicacy due to his rank, which had some time before induced me to send him the message by Captain Windsor, the particulars of which he has already faithfully related to the court.

I trust I have little reason to apprehend that the court will be inclined to consider my conduct as I have stated it, in answer to this fourth article of the charge, as disgraceful to the British flag. After I had put upon the same tack with the enemy, to protect the disabled part of my fleet, and to collect the rest together, there would have been little to do to renew the battle, but bearing right down upon the enemy, if my accuser had led his division in obedience to the repeated signals and orders which I have stated. The Victory never went more than two knots, was under her double-reefed top-sail, and fore-sail much shattered, which kept the ships that were near her under their top-sail, and suffered the French fleet, which might always have brought me to action, if they had inclined to do it, to range up parallel with the centre, under very little sail. It was to protect the five disabled ships above-mentioned, and to give the rest time to form into some order, that I judged it might be expedient to stand as I did under that easy sail, than to bring-to with my head to the southward. The court will judge whether it was possible for any officer in the service really to believe that these operations could give the appearance of a flight, or furnish a rational pretence to the French admiral to claim the victory, or publish to the world that the British fleet had run away.

Answer to the Fifth Article.

On the morning of the 28th of July, the French fleet (except three sail, which were seen upon the lee quarter) was only visible from the mast-heads of some of the ships of the British fleet, and at a distance from me, which afforded not the smallest prospect of coming up with them, more especially as their ships, though certainly much damaged in their hulls, had not apparently suffered much in their masts and sails. Whereas the

fleet under my command was generally and greatly shattered in their masts, yards, and rigging, and many of them unable to carry sail. As to the three French ships, I made the signal at five o'clock in the morning for the Duke, Bienfaisant, Prince George, and Elizabeth, to give them chace, judging them to be the properest ships for that purpose, but the two last were not able to carry sufficient sail to give even countenance to the pursuit; and looking round to the general condition of my fleet, I saw it was in vain to attempt either a general or a partial chace. Indeed, my accuser does not venture to allege that there was any probability, or even possibility, of doing it with effect, which destroys the whole imputation of his charge.

Under these circumstances, I could not mistake my duty; and I was resolved not to sacrifice it to an empty show and appearance, which is beneath the dignity of an officer, unconscious of any failure or neglect. To have urged a fruitless pursuit, with a fleet so greatly crippled in its masts and sails, after a distant and flying enemy, within reach of their own ports, and with a fresh wind blowing fair for their port, with a large swell, would have been not only wantonly exposing the British fleet under my command without end or object, but misleading and defeating its operations, by delaying the refitment necessary for carrying on the future service with vigour and effect.

My accuser asserts, by a general conclusion to the five articles exhibited against me, that, from what he states as instances of misconduct and neglect in me, "a glorious opportunity was lost of doing a most essential service to the state;" and that the honour of the British navy was tarnished.

The truth of the assertion, That an opportunity was lost, I am not called upon either to combat or deny. It is sufficient for me, if I shall be successful in proving, that that opportunity was seized by me, and followed up to the full extent of my power. If the court shall be of that opinion, I am satisfied; and it will then rest with the vice-admiral of the blue to explain to what cause it is to be referred, that the glorious opportunity he speaks of was lost, and to whom it is to be imputed (if the fact be true), that the honour of the British navy has been tarnished.

Having now, Sir, finished my replies, I shall call witnesses to prove my innocence. I have heard it asserted, as matter of right, to alter a log-book. I will only say, that there is a wide difference between correcting inaccuracies, and malicious alterations, for the purpose of aiding malicious prosecutions.

As to my prosecutor, I have even his own letters, of as late date as the 5th of October, wherein he thus writes to me: "I

know that you would rather meet the French fleet." Yes, Sir, that very French fleet which he afterwards accused me of running away from! I cannot produce these letters in evidence, but I will show them to any gentleman out of court, who desires to see them. I will also show to any gentleman a paper which my prosecutor requested me to sign but a very short time ago, and I refused to sign it. In the news-papers, my prosecutor denied receiving any message by the Fox frigate. Captain Windsor swore to the delivery of such a message. He proved in evidence that he received the message from me at five o'clock, and delivered it to the vice-admiral himself at half past five o'clock. Captain Bazely endeavoured to refute this evidence: but I shall call witnesses to prove the delivery of the message. My conscience is perfectly clear. I have no secret machinations, no dark contrivances to answer for. My heart does not reproach me. As to my enemies, I would not wish the greatest enemy I have in the world to be afflicted with so heavy a punishment as—my accuser's conscience.

END OF VOL. V.

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